

Selected Writings of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

[Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.](#) (1934-2015), an American professor of Hittite and ancient Near Eastern studies, published the 29 articles below in a variety of journals between the years 1964 and 2003.

[An Anatolian Cult Term in Ugaritic](#), from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1964), pp. 66-68.

[Composite Nouns, Verbs and Adjectives in Hittite](#), from *Orientalia*, Nova Series, Vol. 35, No. 4 (1966), pp. 377-402.

[Symbols for Masculinity and Feminity: Their Use in Ancient near Eastern Sympathetic Magic Rituals](#), from *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 85, No. 3 (Sep., 1966), pp. 326-334.

[Ugaritic pwt: A Term from the Early Canaanite Dyeing Industry](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1967), pp. 300-303.

[Second Millenium Antecedents to the Hebrew 'Ôb](#), from *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 86, No. 4 (Dec., 1967), pp. 385-401.

[A Hittite Text in Epic Style about Merchants](#), from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (1968), pp. 34-45.

[Hittite Tarpîš and Hebrew Terāphîm](#), from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Jan., 1968), pp. 61-68.

[A Hittite Analogue to the David and Goliath Contest of Champions?](#) from *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (April 1968), pp. 220-225.

[Birth and Name-Giving in Hittite Texts](#), from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Jul., 1968), pp. 198-203.

[On the Use of Hittite -ZA in Nominal Sentences](#), from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Oct., 1969), pp. 225-230.

[Remarks on the Hittite Version of the Naram-Sin Legend](#), from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1970), pp. 17-22.

[Hittite ega- and egan-](#), from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1/2 (1971), pp. 31-36.

[Hittite and Ugaritic Words for "Lettuce"](#), from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Oct., 1973), p. 234.

[A Join to the Hittite Mita Text](#), from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan., 1976), pp. 60-62.

[Studies in Hittite Vocabulary, Syntax, and Style: Hommage à M. Emmanuel Laroche](#), from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Jul., 1977), pp. 151-156.

[An Old Hittite Fragment in the British Museum](#), from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Oct., 1978), pp. 341-342.

[Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites](#), from *Orientalia*, Nova Series, Vol. 49, No. 4 (1980), pp. 283-332.

[Why parḫu- Is Not the Hittite Word for "Fish"](#), by Howard Berman, Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan., 1980), pp. 48-49.

[The Old Hittite Version of Laws 164-166](#), from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3/4 (Jul. - Oct., 1981), pp. 206-209.

[The Old Hittite Legal Idiom šuwaye- with the Allative](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 102, No. 3 (Jul. - Oct., 1982), pp. 507-509.

[A Prayer of Muršili II about His Stepmother](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 103, No. 1, *Studies in Literature from the Ancient Near East*, by Members of the American Oriental Society, Dedicated to Samuel Noah Kramer (Jan. - Mar., 1983), pp. 187-192.

[Hittite Fragments in American Collections](#), by Gary Beckman, Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Spring, 1985), pp. 1-60.

[The Hittite word for "Oil" and its Derivatives](#), from *Historische Sprachforschung / Historical Linguistics*, 107. Bd., 2. H. (1994), pp. 222-230.

[The Stem of the Hittite Word for "House"](#), from *Historische Sprachforschung / Historical Linguistics*, 108. Bd., 2. H. (1995), pp. 192-194.

[Oil in Hittite Texts](#), from *Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. 58, No. 2, *Anatolian Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Neve* (Jun., 1995), pp. 108-114.

[Hittite Equivalents of Old Assyrian kumrum and e pattum](#), from *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. 86, *Festschrift für Hans Hirsch zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern* (1996), pp. 151-156.

[From the Disciplines of a Dictionary Editor](#), from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 50 (1998), pp. 35-44.

[The Disabled and Infirm in Hittite Society](#), from *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies*, 2003, pp. 84-90.

[On a Hittite Lexicographic Project](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 123, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 2003), pp. 617-625.

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An Anatolian Cult Term in Ugaritic

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Jan., 1964, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1964), pp. 66-68

Published by: The University of Chicago Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/543181>

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AN ANATOLIAN CULT TERM IN UGARITIC

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THE Indo-European (hereafter IE) root **dhū-* was very productive in the various daughter languages of the Indo-European family.¹ In Sanskrit it appears in the noun *dhūmah*, "smoke." In Latin the IE phoneme **dh* appears as either *b*, *d*, or *f*, depending upon various conditioning factors.² IE **dhū-mo-*, accordingly, is represented in Latin by *fumus*.³ In classical Greek IE **dh* joins three other IE phonemes which fall together in the script as *θ* (theta).⁴ The IE root *dhū-* appears in the verb *θύω*, "to make an offering (esp. a burnt offering or incense offering)."⁵ IE **dhū-mo-* is represented by Greek *θυμός*, "spirit, emotion, anger" (from earlier "smoke, vapor") and the denominative verb *θυμιάω*, "to make smoke".⁶ In Mycenaean Greek the IE root is evident in two forms: *tu-we-ā*, an accus. pl. neut. normalized as *thuea* (*Θύεα*), "ingredients for aromatic oil, fragrant smoke,"⁷ and *tu-wo*, an enumerated commodity which might be "incense."⁸

E. Laroche has pointed out that IE **dhū-mo-* is represented in cuneiform Hittite by *tuhhima-*, "coughing, choking,

gasping, suffocation."⁹ Cognates of this noun in Hittite are: *tuhhāi-*, "to gasp, choke, be short of breath," *tuhhiyatt-*, "gasping, suffocation," *tuhhueššar* (substance for cultic purification; "smoke, incense"??), and *tuhhuwāi-/tuhhui-*, "smoke".¹⁰

In the alphabetic texts from Ugarit there are many terms for various types of cultic offerings. Among others we might enumerate the following: *uzr*, *gmn*, *dgt*, *mgł*, *mlk(t)*, *mlg*, *mnh*, *nkt*, *qtr*, and *šrp*. Of this number some of the terms are transparent in meaning and etymology. Others are more obscure. The term *dgt*, in particular, appears to have no convincing Semitic etymology.¹¹ It occurs only four times in Ugaritic literature (I Aqht 185, 186, 192, 193),¹² all in the same immediate context. Daniel the king is in mourning for his son Aqhat. He weeps for seven years in his palace, accompanied by wailing women. At the end of the seven years Daniel dismisses the wailing women from his presence and prepares to make sacrifice unto the gods. At this point the text reads

⁹ Laroche, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris (BSL)* LII, 80.

¹ Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 261 f. under *dheu-* ("vermutlich: *dhwē-*").

² See Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ¶ 223. Also H. Krahe, *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft*, I, 79–80, 87.

³ Lewis and Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, pp. 791–92.

⁴ Krahe, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 87. They are: IE **th*, **g^wh*, **dh*, **g^wh*.

⁵ Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 813. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 698–99.

⁶ Liddell and Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 809–10. Frisk, *op. cit.*, pp. 692–93.

⁷ M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, p. 411.

⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Friedrich, *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch (HWb)*, pp. 226–7; *HWb Erg.* 1, p. 21; and *HWb Erg.* 2, p. 25 (where it is shown that Hittite *tuhhuwāi-* corresponds with Akkadian *qutru* in the new bilingual text of Ḫattušili I).

¹¹ A student of Virolleaud's informs me that his professor proposed Arabic دغش as cognate in a class session. Ugaritic *dgt*, according to this theory would be "nocturnal offering." G. R. Driver (*Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p. 153, note 29) suggests Arabic دغت, "to strangle," as possibly cognate. But the correct Arabic reflex of Ugaritic *ḡ* would be Arabic ث, not ش or ت.

¹² Cyrus Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, p. 256. Entry No. 500.

thus: *wyq[ry] dbh ilm, yš^cly dğt [] bšmy^m, dğt hrnmy [dk]bkbm*. Provisionally, we might render this as: "He offered a sacrifice (*dbh*) to the gods; he offered up a smoke-offering (*dğt*) to the heavens, the smoke-offering of Hrnmy to the stars." The meaning "smoke, incense" or even "smoke-offering" fits the context well. The Š-causative of *ly*, "to go up, rise," is quite a *propos* to the meaning as well.

As for the vocalization of the form, the most likely pronunciation, if it is an Anatolian loan word, would be *duḡuš* or *duḡuš*. Anatolian *hattuš*, "silver,"¹³ is written in the Ugaritic alphabetic texts as *htt*, which appears in this form regardless of the case (nom., gen., accus.). This would indicate that the Hittite-Luwian nom. case ending *š* became fossilized in Anatolian loan words and was regarded by the people of Ugarit as a part of the stem. The same fate evidently befell cuneiform Hittite *duḥḥuiš*, which appears as *dğt* (i.e., nom. *duḥḥuiš*, rather than accus. *duḥḥuin*) in the Aqhat epic, although the noun clearly functions as the direct object in all of its four occurrences.

The alphabetic spelling of cuneiform *duḥḥuiš* adds much to our knowledge of the Hittite term. First of all, we see that the initial dental, which is usually written with the voiceless dental series of signs in cuneiform Hittite, was indeed pronounced *d*. It is true that we might be led to suspect this already from the etymology (IE **dhū-*), but the alphabetic spelling now confirms the voiced dental pronunciation. E. Sturtevant in his formulation of the laryngeal theory for Indo-European (or rather "Indo-Hittite") posited four primitive laryngeals.¹⁴ Some of these are

represented as consonants in Hittite, but in the other IE languages they only manifest their presence by vocalic colorings. In Hittite they all fall together in the script, represented by the *h* series of signs. Alphabetic transcriptions of Hittite words and personal names have shown that in the pronunciation some of these laryngeals were distinct from others, although they were all spelled with the *h* signs in cuneiform. The personal name Tuthaliya appears in alphabetic texts as *tdğl*, showing that the laryngeal was articulated more like Ugaritic *ğ* than Ugaritic *h* or *ḥ*.¹⁵ Whereas Anatolian *hattuš*, "silver," is written *htt* at Ugarit, indicating that the Hittite pronunciation of the "*h*" in *hattuš* differed from that of the "*h*" in Tuthaliya. To this we can now add that the IE (or IH) *dhuXu-* (with X representing the primitive laryngeal) contained the same laryngeal as that in the name Tuthaliya, represented alphabetically as *ğ*. Another possible example of this "*ğ*" laryngeal in Hittite is the term *kupaḥi-*, which denotes a type of headgear.¹⁶ If Hebrew כִּבְעָ (also spelled קִבְעָ) was indeed borrowed from the Philistines and can be traced back to an Anatolian origin, we might wish to posit the pronunciation *kubaḡi-* for the cuneiform *kupaḥi-*, "helmet, headgear."¹⁷

In summary, Anatolian loan words in Ugaritic are not as familiar a phenomenon

¹⁵ Distinctions between various velar, pharyngeal, and laryngeal spirants could be more precise in the alphabetic cuneiform of Ugarit than in the syllabic cuneiform of North Syria and Anatolia, because in the latter the syllabic *h* signs had to cover the entire range of *h*, *ḥ*, *h*, and *ğ*.

¹⁶ See A. Goetze, "Hittite Dress," in *Corolla Linguistica*, p. 59. Goetze shows that in lists Hittite *kupaḥi* alternates with TÚGSAG.DUL.

¹⁷ Note I Samuel, chap. 17, where in the same historical and military context Goliath's helmet is called a כִּבְעָ (vs. 5) and Saul's a קִבְעָ (vs. 38). The alternation of the velar stops points to foreign a phoneme, which was heard by the Hebrews as intermediate between the פ and ק. See already Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, p. 29.

¹³ The Anatolian place name *Hattušaš* is often written URU KÜ.BABBAR-ša-aš in Hittite texts. See Friedrich, ZDMG, XCVI (1942), 490-92.

¹⁴ E. H. Sturtevant, *Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, 2d ed., *passim*. H. Kronasser, *Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre des Hethitischen*, pp. 75-78.

as are Hurrian and Akkadian loans.¹⁸ But here in *dġt* (perhaps pronounced *duġuiš*) is a rather clear example of a cult term borrowed from Anatolia. It is likely that cult terms from Anatolia reached the Levantine coast through the migration of cult personnel. Persons trained in cultic functions were a mobile class in the ancient Mediterranean world and were in demand everywhere. Homer informs us that such was the case with the class of skilled

personnel which he calls the *δημοεργοί*.¹⁹ The term *duġuiš*, denoting "smoke" in a ritual sense, or perhaps "smoke-offering," was brought to Ugarit by Anatolian cult personnel. Since it was a foreign term, it does not occur often in the alphabetic texts. Instead we meet with the native term *qtr*. But in the epic of Aqhat King Daniel is described as offering up the smoke (*dġt*) of his sacrifice to the heavens.

¹⁸ The only other clear example in fact is *hrt*, but the probability of such words finding their way into Ugaritic is high in view of the close relations between Ugarit and Anatolia.

¹⁹ *Odyssey* xvii. 382–86. See further C. H. Gordon, "Ugaritic Guilds and Homeric ΔΗΜΙΟΕΡΓΟΙ," in *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, pp. 136–43.

Composite Nouns, Verbs and Adjectives in Hittite

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Orientalia*, 1966, NOVA SERIES, Vol. 35, No. 4 (1966), pp. 377-402

Published by: GBPress- Gregorian Biblical Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43079573>

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Composite Nouns, Verbs and Adjectives in Hittite

Harry A. HOFFNER, Jr. – Waltham, Mass.

The subject of composite forms in Hittite has been touched upon many times over the past twenty years in Hittitology ⁽¹⁾. And, although in general all such discussions have centered on one or two particular forms thought to be composites rather than attempting a comprehensive review ⁽²⁾, in recent years with the appearance of the first fascicles of H. Kronasser's *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache* (hereafter *EHS*) ⁽³⁾ a more systematic and scientific review of the subject has been attempted. Kronasser was, of course, anticipated in much of his analysis by the earlier works of Güterbock ⁽⁴⁾ and Goetze ⁽⁵⁾, yet his attempt at systematization is very useful. It occurs to the writer, however, that more attention needs to be directed to matters of morpheme sequence in order to determine whether any consistent

⁽¹⁾ A selective, alphabetical listing of scholars who have made first identifications of Hittite composites includes: Balkan (*antiyant-*; *Dergi* 6 [1948], 147 ff.), Čop (*hatalkešna-*; *Slav. Rev. Ling.* 11, 52 ff.), Ehelolf (*šiwanzanna-*; *ZA NF* 2 [1935], 318), Friedrich (*pattarpalhi-*; *ZA NF* 5 [1930], 36), Goetze, (*annanega-*, *Symb. Hrozny* I, 289 ff.; *šarri-wašpa-*, *JCS* 10 [1956], 36, n. 42; *šuppiwašhar*, *JCS* 1 [1947], 318-320), Güterbock (*allantaru-*, *appašiwat-*, *kattakurant-*, and *wizzapant-* in *Cor. Ling.*, 63-68; *aššuzeri-*, *RHA* f. 74 [1964], 97 ff.), Hoffner (*ištamaḫura-*, *RHA* f. 72 [1963], 38, n. 21; *kammarš-*, *RHA* f. 72 [1963], 34-35; *walkiṣ-šara-*, *RHA* f. 72 [1963], 36-37; *šerkurant-*, *tapalkuštana-*, and *tarumaki-* in the present study), Laroche (*pirešḫannaš*, *RHA* f. 61 [1957], 128; *šallakardah-*, etc., *RA* 48 [1954], 47). Cf. also F. Sommer, *HuH* 55 ff.; A. Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 (1961) 161-218; P. H. Salus, *The Compound Noun in Indo-European: A Survey* (doctoral dissertation, New York University 1963; for an abstract see *Linguistics* 11 [The Hague 1963] 113); P. H. Salus, "The Types of Nominal Compound of Indo-European", *Orbis* 14 (Louvain 1965) 38-62 (51: Hittite).

⁽²⁾ H. G. Güterbock's essay in *Cor. Ling.*, 63-68 was the first attempt to discuss more than one composite in a single article.

⁽³⁾ H. Kronasser, *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache*, Band 1 (Wiesbaden 1966). The first fascicle of Band 1 appeared in 1962.

⁽⁴⁾ "Zu einigen hethitischen Komposita", *Corolla Linguistica* (Wiesbaden 1955), 63-68.

⁽⁵⁾ See Goetze's article cited above in note 1.

patterns emerge from the many known examples and a few previously unsuspected examples, which he proposes to discuss in the body of this article.

The purpose of this essay, then, is two-fold: (1) to determine the principal types of composite formations in Hittite, illustrating them with such examples as have been adduced previously by others, and in the process (2) to add a few additional examples of composite forms discovered by the writer during the past few years of his research.

I. Patterns of Composite Formation in Hittite

Composite (or compounded) ⁽¹⁾ nouns, verbs, and adjectives can be found in most languages of the Indo-European linguistic family ⁽²⁾. This feature is more prominent, however, in some of these languages than in others ⁽³⁾. It would be a gross overstatement to claim that such word types are common in Hittite or any other Anatolian language cognate to Hittite, yet examples are far from few.

The components of composite nouns, verbs, and adjectives were not combined in any haphazard fashion in Hittite, but appear rather to have been joined in a limited number of prescribed or preferred patterns. To a certain extent these intra-word sequence patterns are analogous to the intra-clause morpheme sequence patterns in Hittite. Yet they are not in every respect the same. By examining the available examples one may extract the following patterns. For simplicity's sake the following abbreviations will be employed: A = adjectival element, Adv = adverbial element, N = nominal element, Pr/Po = preverbal or postpositional element, V = verbal element, Va = verbal adjective (participle, etc.).

1. A + N₁ = N₂.

a. *Aššuzeri-*, a kind of cup; cf. *HWb*, 38, and Güterbock, *RHA* f. 74 (1964), 97 ff. A = *aššu-* "good", and N = *zeri-* "cup." Just

⁽¹⁾ I trust that my choice of terms in this monograph does not confuse any trained descriptive or comparative linguist. I would consider the terms "composite" and "compounded" to be virtual synonyms. I have preferred to use the term "composite" in this study.

⁽²⁾ *EHS* I, 155 ff.; Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, II, 21-89.

⁽³⁾ Quite common in Greek, Sanskrit and Germanic; less common in some of the other groups.

what is implied by *aššu-* in this compound is not clear ⁽¹⁾. Friedrich and Sommer ⁽²⁾ have enumerated the following nuances of the adjective within the broader range of "good": "suitable" (zweckmässig), "useful" (nützlich), "beneficial" (heilsam), "valuable" (wertgeschätzt), "prized" (beliebt) ⁽³⁾. Both agree that the word does *not* imply "morally good" (sittlich gut) or "well-disposed" (wohl-/gutgesinnt). Friedrich adds the nuance "pleasant" (angenehm) ⁽⁴⁾. In addition *aššu-* may convey the idea of "unspoiled" in KBo III 21 obv. ii 9, where *aššu* UZU.Ì is contrasted with *huwappan-a* UZU.Ì. In KBo X 20 obv. i 13-14 *man* LUGAL-*i-ma aššu tašta* URU.Katapi šara apeniššan paizzi seems to presuppose the basic meaning "pleasing/pleasant": "if it is pleasing to the king (i.e., if he wishes), he may go up to Katapa even so" ⁽⁵⁾. But how does one decide what nuance is borne by *aššu-* in connection with a cup? The adjective is used of a vessel in KUB VII 5 rev. iv 12-18: *namma-ši man* DUG^hharšiyalli *aššu n-an-zan* DUG^hharšiyalli tittanuzi *man UL-ma n-an-za* NA^hhuwaši tittanuzi *našma-an-za* ALAM-*ma iyazi*, "furthermore, if his DUG^hharšiyalli is *aššu*, he will set it on the DUG^hharšiyalli; but if it is not, he will either set it on the NA^hhuwaši or make an image". Goetze translates the first portion of the above passage: "Furthermore, if sacrificial vessels are in order, he will set up sacrificial vessels" ⁽⁶⁾. In doing so, he fails to explicitly translate the enclitic pronoun *-ši* in *namma-ši* and expresses his preference to translate *aššu* "in order". He also understands both DUG^hharšiyalli and *aššu* as neuter plurals, an interpretation which is permissible for DUG^hharšiyalli but much more questionable for *aššu* (one would expect *aššawa* for the neuter plural). The enclitic *-ši* can be construed with either DUG^hharšiyalli ("the to-him DUG^h." = "his DUG^h.")) or *aššu* ("valuable to him"). Either interpretation is possible; I simply prefer the first. The value of the DUG^hharšiyalli which determines whether or not it will be the stand is (to my mind)

⁽¹⁾ The word "good" covers such a broad range of nuances that one must attempt to narrow it to a shade of meaning appropriate for a cup.

⁽²⁾ Sommer, HAB 46 ff.; Friedrich, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 41, 192 and 370 ff. and in *HWb*, 37.

⁽³⁾ I have combined the offerings of the two scholars in one list. They seem to be agreed upon the selection of nuances which are both appropriate and inappropriate for *aššu-*.

⁽⁴⁾ See *HWb*, 37.

⁽⁵⁾ See H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 19 (1960), 80 and 85.

⁽⁶⁾ *ANET*², 350a.

not sentimental but intrinsic. By "intrinsic" I do not necessarily wish to exclude "immaterial" considerations such as ritual purity. I simply do not believe that $-\dot{s}i$ is to be directly construed with $a\dot{s}\dot{s}u$ so as to result in a translation "if the $^{DU}g\dot{h}$. is valuable to him". The clause "if his $^{DU}g\dot{h}$. is $a\dot{s}\dot{s}u$ " must refer to a quality which all persons aware of the nature of the vessel would agree that it possesses. If ritual purity is involved, all persons who knew what had been done to the vessel would agree that intrinsically it was "pure" or "impure". If material value is involved, all persons who examined the vessel would acknowledge that it was either "valuable" (silver, gold, or other material) or "not valuable" (clay, etc.). As I study KUB VII 5 rev. iv 12-18, the last alternative appears to me most likely. The issue is a very simple one: if the sacrificer's vessel is a common earthen one (and not, therefore, valuable), he sets the god on a $^{NA}huwa\dot{s}i-$, which is quite valuable ⁽¹⁾, or he makes an $ALAM$, which also would have more intrinsic value than an earthen vessel. If, however, the vessel is valuable (i.e., perhaps made of precious material), he may set it up before the god. And perhaps it is just this nuance which is intended in the composite $a\dot{s}\dot{s}uzeri-$. It is a cup which has intrinsic value, i.e., a cup which is made of some precious material. An $a\dot{s}\dot{s}u\ zeri$ (with separate spelling) of gold is attested in KUB I 17 i 5 ⁽²⁾.

b. $\dot{S}uppiwa\dot{s}har$, "onion" (Goetze, *JCS* 1 [1947], 318-320). Compare also now Kronasser (*EHS*, I, 126). The word is a loan translation ⁽³⁾ from the Sumerian $SUM.SIKIL^{SAB}$ ⁽⁴⁾. The Hittite components are $\dot{s}uppi-$ "holy" and $*wa\dot{s}har$ "bulb" or "garlic" (not attested in free form in Hittite) ⁽⁵⁾. The pattern is again $A + N_1 = N_2$.

⁽¹⁾ In Hittite law $\neq 128$ the fine set for the person who steals the $huwa\dot{s}i-$ stone is higher than that paid by a person stealing any other kind of stone. On the $huwa\dot{s}i$ -stone see A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*², 162-3.

⁽²⁾ Güterbock, *RHA* f. 74 (1964), 111, n. 6. Güterbock has also shown (*ibid.*, 112) that it is impossible to distribute the three Hittite equivalents of $(^{DU}g)GAL - zer-(n.)$, $GAL-i-$ (c.), and $GAL-ma/i-$ (c.) — between "metal goblet" and "earthenware cup", which thus removes the objection that an $a\dot{s}\dot{s}uzeri-$ could not be made of either material.

⁽³⁾ See the discussion of loan translations in *EHS*, I, 124-8.

⁽⁴⁾ Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1947), 318-320.

⁽⁵⁾ I. J. Gelb in *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger*, 57-58 translates SUM as "onion" and $SUM-SIKIL$ ("pure onion") as "garlic", i.e., the very opposite of Goetze's distribution: SUM "garlic" and $SUM-SIKIL$ "onion".

2. $A_1 + N = A_2$.

A second pattern of morphemes is that in which the first member is A and the second N. The resultant composite has a basic A function, but can be substantivized, when employed as an epithet or name. In examples *a* and *b* the original adjective has been applied to a plant as an epithet or name, thus coming to serve as N. This type of composite requires an English translation: "A of N" or "A with respect to N". Among examples of this pattern in Greek we may cite: βαρυδαίμων "heavy of fate, unlucky", πολύρρην (πολύς + ῥρην) "rich in sheep," πολύμητις (πολύς + μῆτις) "full of devices, tricks".

a. *Ḫatalkeš(ša)na-*, a kind of thorn bush; "prickly branch", cf. *HWb* Erg. 2, 12, citing Čop, *Slav. Rev. Lingu.* 11, 52 ff.; see also the discussions of G. Neumann, *KZ* 77 (1961), 79, and A. Kammenhuber, *ibid.*, 199, n. 1. The components are **ḫat(a)-*, by function A, yet not attested as an independent adjective in Hittite texts (¹). meaning either "sharp" or "prickly", and **alkeš(ša)na-*, presumed by Čop to be a by-form of *alkištana-* "branch" (*HWb*, 19; cf. also Güterbock, *Oriens* 10 [1957], 354). Kronasser (*EHS*, I, 183) either has not seen Čop's interpretation or disagrees with it, for he analyzes *ḫatalkeš(ša)na-* as containing the formative *-šana-/šna-*. Quite aside from the attractiveness of the etymological explanation given by Čop for the name of a thorn bush, there appears to be independent support for the theory in the form *tapalkuštanan*^{SAR} in KUB XXIV 14 i 6 (discussion under *b*). But the interpretation of **ḫat(a)-* as A is not the only possible one. In view of the existence of composites of the type $V + N_1 = N_2$ in some IE languages (see below on *targaš(ša)-*

(¹) Čop, *Slav. Rev. Ling.* 11, 52-68; *HWb* Erg. 2, 12. On the stem vowel see Part II of the present article. The verb *ḫattarai-*, however, must be kept apart. Laroche has suggested (*MNHHMC XAPIN*, II, 3 with n. 5, without references) a meaning "to cross" for *ḫattarai-* and "crossing" for *ḫattareššar*. It would not serve the purposes of this study to enter into a thorough lexical disquisition on *ḫattarai-* or *ḫattareššar* here, but from a brief examination of my own collection of passages containing these words augmented by additional references supplied to me by Prof. Laroche I am inclined to agree with his proposed translation. A few passages still resist this rendering, e.g., the very difficult [^{G1}ŠBA]L.-TUR-az *ḫa-at-ta-ra-a-mi* (KUB XXXVI 35 obv. i 3) of the Elkunirša-Ašertu myth (cf. Otten, *MIO* 1 [1953], 125-150 and *RHA* f. 76 [1965], 6-7, n. 11).

na-) it is possible that both *hatalkeššana-* and *tapalkuštana-* contain V as their first members. Thus *Stech-ast* (as given in *HWb* Erg. 2, 12) is a very apt translation, since *Stech-ast* is also a V + N₁ = N₂ type composite. In this case **hal(a)-* could be related, if not identical, with the attested verb *hattai-*, a verb of cutting or piercing. The element **tap(a)-* in *tapalkuštana-* is more difficult to identify.

b. *Tapalkuštana-*, a kind of plant. The syllabic spelling of this name is *ta-pal-ku-uš-ta-na-an^{SAR}* (KUB XXIV 14 i 6), acc. sg. of a noun of common gender. As must be apparent from the previous discussion, I analyze this term as *tap+alkuštana-*. The identity of the second component, **alkuštana-*, can hardly be doubted. It shares with the noun *alkištana-* "branch" eight phonemes, differing only in the second vowel. To disassociate the two forms on the basis of the single vowel in the face of the exact correspondence of the other eight phonemes is surely presuming too much on coincidence, especially in a plant name! I cannot make a positive identification of the first component **tap-*. But obviously some guesses must be made, if we are ever to reach a solution. According, I put forward the following. The reduplicated noun *^{G1S}taptappa-* designates probably a "(bird-)cage", or less likely a "(bird-)nest" ⁽¹⁾. Both a cage and a nest would be characterised by one conspicuous feature, namely, criss-crossed or interwoven wooden sticks. Is it possible then that the element **tap-* denotes this interweaving or criss-crossing? If so, then perhaps *tap+alkuštana-* means "of/with interwoven branches" as a designation for a particular kind of plant. Again the pattern is A₁+N=A₂, the resultant A₂ being "(plant) with interwoven branches". See also above on 2a.

c. *Walkiššara-*, adjective meaning "(manually) skilled" (*HWb*, 243; H. Hoffner, *RHA* f. 73 [1963], 36-37). Kronasser (*EHS*, 186) makes no allusion to components for *walkiššara-*, apparently considering it not to be a composite form. On analogy with such Greek forms as εὔχειρ "manually skilled", δαιδαλόχειρ "cunning of hand", κερτερόχειρ "strong of hand", etc., I have previously pointed out ⁽²⁾ that the Hittite adjective *walkiššara-* "skilled" should be segmented into the components **wal-* (not attested to date as a free form in Hittite) and *kiššara-* "hand" (*HWb*, 108). The former of the two components

⁽¹⁾ *HWb*, 212 and literature cited there.

⁽²⁾ *RHA* f. 72 (1963), 36-37.

occupies the position normally held by the A in such forms, so that I have posited for this bound morpheme the provisional meaning "strong" or "deft", and have connected it with IE **yal-*/**yal-dh-* "to be strong" ⁽¹⁾. Here, as in examples *a* and *b* above, $A_1 + N = A_2$. A serious objection to my analysis of this form has, however, been raised by Prof. Güterbock, who points out that in composites of this type one expects the full stem form for the first element. Since neither IE in general nor in particular Nesite and Luwian possess *l*-stem adjectives, **wal-* can hardly be A. Perhaps my analysis of this form has been premature.

d. **Šallakarda-* ⁽²⁾ is the conjectured adjectival base upon which the two verb forms *šallakardai-* and *šallakardah-* were built, just as *walkeššarah-* "to make skilled" was built upon the adjectival base *walkeššara-*. According to the principles which we have laid down for the interpretation of Hittite composites of the pattern $A_1 + N = A_2$ we should render this literally "great of heart". The verbs built upon this base should be rendered (literally) as "to be (or act) great-hearted" and perhaps (for *šallakardah-*) "to make (someone else) great-hearted". Yet such a literal translation would be misleading in English. In Hittite this complex of verbs with their abstract noun (*šallakardatar*) have an unfavorable connotation. E. Laroche has proposed for *šallakardah-* and *šallakardai-* the meaning "to startle, surprise", and for *šallakardatar* "astonishment, surprise" ⁽³⁾. H. G. Güterbock preferred to translate the first two as "to do evil high-handedly/arrogantly", and the third as "arrogance, presumption, high-handedness" ⁽⁴⁾. Holt has more recently suggested for *šallakardah-* "to make someone irrational, incite to anger", and for *šallakardai-* "to behave irrationally" ⁽⁵⁾. The present writer prefers Güterbock's renderings, but it is not his intention to enter into the details of the lexicography at this point. It is sufficient for the present purpose to classify these forms within the structure of morpheme sequence in composites.

⁽¹⁾ J. Pokorny, *Indogerm. etym. Wörterbuch*, 1111-1112; *RHA* f. 72 (1963), 37, n. 25.

⁽²⁾ Discussed by Kronasser *EHS* § 77,4 p. 125 and A. Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 (1961) 193 f.

⁽³⁾ *RA* 48 (1954), 47.

⁽⁴⁾ *Cor. Ling.*, 65-68.

⁽⁵⁾ *BiOr* 15 (1958), 150, n. 18a.

3. Adv + N₁ = N₂.

This group of Hittite composites approximates Brugmann and Delbrück's third category; those whose first member is an old adverb also attested independently. Among the examples cited by Brugmann and Delbrück are several whose second member, though N, is de-verbal: Greek πρό-θεσις, ἀπό-στασις, ἐν-δειξις; Latin *in-dictiō*, etc. ⁽¹⁾. Since these could be derived from preverbs and verbs, they do not match our Hittite group, in which both examples have a primitive noun as their second members. The examples which parallel our examples best are: Greek ὑπ-ώπια, ὑπερώη, ὑπ-ασπίδιος, etc.

a. *appašiwat-* "future" (*HWb*, 337-338 and *Erg.* 2, 7-8, citing Güterbock, *Cor. Ling.*, 65; *EHS*, I, 124 and 156). The above is the full phonetic writing of the Hittite form which underlies such ideographic writings as EGIR.UD.KAM (KBo III 3 obv. i 7), EGIR-*pa*-UD-*ti* (KBo III 3 ii 7; Laroche, *RA* 52 [1958], 187), EGIR-*U*₄-*MI* (KBo II 9 obv. i 34), and EGIR-*pa*-UD.KAM-*aš* (KUB XXIX 9 i 7). The two components, which have been identified by both Güterbock and Otten in 1952 ⁽²⁾ and further commented upon by Güterbock again in 1955 ⁽³⁾, are *appa* "after, behind" (*HWb*, 25), which normally functions as either adverb or post-positional, but which carries a quasi-adjectival force in this composite, and *šiwat-* "day" (*HWb*, 195). Güterbock and Otten pointed out to Friedrich the alternation of *appašiwatta* with the ideogram EGIR-*U*₄-*MI* (= Akkadian *arkât ūmi*) in a text found in 1952 (now published as KBo VII 28:40 ff.). Regarding the Akkadian idiom, neither the *AHW* nor the *CAD* have published their material on *(w)arkiu/(w)arkû*, but Friedrich Delitzsch in his *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig 1896) has listed a number of occurrences of the idiom *arkât ūmi* ⁽⁴⁾. In addition, one should note that virtually the same idiom is found in Biblical Hebrew (פְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים). Yet the similarity between the Semitic idiom and the Hittite composite is only semantic and not morphological, for the Akkadian and Hebrew constructions are true genitival phrases, containing *nomen regens* and *nomen rectum*, whereas *appašiwat-* is of the pattern Adv + N₁ = N₂.

⁽¹⁾ See examples in Brugmann & Delbrück, *VGIS*, II, 29-30, 38, and 51.

⁽²⁾ *HWb*, 337-338.

⁽³⁾ *Cor. Ling.*, 65.

⁽⁴⁾ F. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, 243a.

Another composite, which contains *šiwat-*, but whose pattern is Demonstrative + N₁ = Adv, is *anišiwat* (*anni-* "that" + *šiwat-* "day"; Hrozný, *ArOr* 1 [1929], 284, Otten, *MDOG* 86 [1953], 64, n. 3, *EHS*, I, 124).

b. *Šarriwašpa-*, a kind of garment; *HWb* Erg. 1, 18; cf. Goetze, *JCS* 10 (1956), 36, n. 42; *EHS*, I, 125 and 184; Laroche, *RA* 52 (1958), 188. Goetze first pointed out the existence and probable meaning of this term, which is found only in IBoT I 31 obv. 7 in a list of garments. He even suggested that it might be a composite, involving the word for "garment" (*wašpa-*) as its second element⁽¹⁾. He did not, however, propose any meaning for the first component, **šarri-*. Kronasser (*EHS*, I, 125) has suggested that this **šarri-* is the Hurrian (ultimately Akkadian) word for "king". He translates *šarriwašpa-*, therefore, as "Königskleid(?)". Laroche, on the other hand, has sought to identify this **šarri-* with the Nesite noun *šarra-* "part, portion" (*HWb*, 184), which he proceeds to extend to the sense "(middle) part", more properly to be expressed by *takšan-* "midst" or by *takšan šarra-* "half". Laroche thus proposes to identify ^{TÜG}*šarriwašpa-* with the ideogram ^{TÜG}E.ÍB and to draw the equation **šarri-* = *šarra-* = ÍB "middle". To my knowledge neither *šarra-* nor **šarri-* is yet attested for Luwian or Palaic, but it is always possible that it will turn up in new texts. The principal objections which I raise against Laroche's view are: (1) the inaccurate rendering of *šarra-* (see above), and (2) the discrepancy in the theme vowel (**šarri-* for *šarra-*). It is to the advantage of this view, however, that at least it has an ideographic counterpart (but only a probable one) which may be appealed to for support. Another possibility would be to interpret **šarri-* as the Luwian adverb *šarri* "above" (Rosenkranz, *Luv.*, 44 ff.; Otten, *Luv.*, 70 ff.), which is the Luwian counterpart to Nesite *šer*. Although *wašpa-* itself has not yet appeared in a Luwian text or as a *Glossenkeilwort*, the Luwian form *wašpant-* (an expansion in *-nt-*) reveals that the *-pa-* formative was employed in Luwian as in Nesite to expand the verb *waš-* "to dress" into the noun for "garment". The "above-garment" (i.e., not reaching to the ankles?) would be an appropriate designation for a light tunic⁽²⁾. For Nesite *šer* in composites of the type Adv + Va₁ = Va₂ see 7b.

⁽¹⁾ *JCS* 10 (1956), 36, n. 42.

⁽²⁾ Perhaps also a garment put on "over" other garments (cf. German "Oberhemd", "Oberkleid"); for this suggestion I am indebted to Dr. Onofrio Carruba.

4. $N + A_1 = A_2$.

When the two components are $A + N$, we have seen that the resultant form can be either N (category one) or A (category two). When the order is reversed, and the components are $N + A$, the result is A in the only clear instance of this pattern which the writer has been able to find.

a. *Pattarpalhi-*, a bird name; *HWb*, 166; Sommer, *HuH*, 56; Güterbock, *Cor. Ling.*, 64; *EHS*, I, 125 and 210. Friedrich himself has suggested the interpretation of this form as "Breitflügel". More literally it is, as Güterbock has rendered it, "Flügelbreit". We classify the form as $N + A_1 = A_2$, because the meaning of the word is not "broad wing", but "broad of wing" or "broad-winged". It is true that the form has become substantivized as the name or epithet of a bird, but strictly speaking it is still an adjective: "(the) broad-winged (one)". The sequence $N + A$ (instead of the prevailing $A + N$) is not out of keeping with Hittite syntax, which permits even in the clause the attributive adjective to follow its noun. Parallels in both IE and Semitic have been cited by Sommer and Friedrich respectively ⁽¹⁾.

b. *Antuwašalli-*, designation of an official; *HWb*, 24; *EHS*, I, 214; N. van Brock, *RHA* f. 71 (1962), 115. I do not include this form because I consider it to be a true composite, but because Kronasser has so designated it. He isolates the **šalli-* and relates it to those titles of Hittite officials which contain *GAL*, i.e., *GAL LÚ^{MEŠ} MEŠEDI*, *GAL DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL*, etc. This interpretation is certainly possible, yet in the very few instances in which *GAL* is used with a *phonetic* spelling of a title, such as *GAL SAL^{MEŠ} ze-en-tu-ḫi-ya-aš* (KUB XI 32 obv. iii 19), the Hittite word for "great" seems to precede the title, following the Sumerian or Akkadian word order. Although he does not cite it himself, one might be tempted to adduce the writing *an-tu-GAL* (for *antuwašalli-*) in favor of Kronasser's interpretation. But such writings are all too often simply rebuses with no true etymological bases (e.g., ¹*GIŠPA-DINGIR^{LIM}* = ¹*Hattusilis*). If we assume Kronasser's view is correct, what would be the initial element? *Antu-*

⁽¹⁾ Sommer, *HuH*, 56; Friedrich cites the Akkadian bird name *šēp-arik* (*ZA* NF 5 [1930], 36; *BAG*, 262b). Cf. *šēp-šu arik* in *MSL*, VIII/2, 138, and further the name of Anu's bow in *Ee* VI 89: *išu arik* "longwood".

wahḫaš is a variant form of *antuhšaš* "man" (*HWb*, 24). One might analyze *antuwašalliš* as **antuwaḫ+šalliš*, which assimilated to *antuwašalliš*. But IE composites of this type require the stem-form for the first element, which would be *antuwaḫ(h)a-*, not **antuwaḫ-*. Furthermore, this analysis yields no really convincing meaning and does not correspond to any of the ideographically written titles. Dietrich and Loretz ⁽¹⁾ have concluded from a study of the three versions of the treaty between Šuppiluliumaš I and Niqmad II of Ugarit that ^Lṽ*antubšalli* of A 37 is the equivalent of ^Lṽ_{EN} É^u *a-bu-si* of B 45 ⁽²⁾. This means that the title ^Lṽ*antubšalli* (at least at Ugarit) designated the superintendent of the *abūsu*-storehouse (*CAD* A¹, 93a). These authors further suggest that the spellings with *PI* be read as *uw* rather than *wa* (i.e., [*an-t*] *u-uw-šal-li* in *Pol. Doc.*, 88, line 22, the treaty of Muwatalliš with Talmišarmaš of Aleppo) ⁽³⁾. This proposal must, however, contend with the objection that *uw* as a reading for *PI* is not elsewhere attested at Boğazköy. An even more serious objection is raised by a consideration of the spellings of *antuwašalli-* at Boğazköy ⁽⁴⁾. It is written: (1) [*an-*] *tu-PI-šal-li* (*AU* II 40), (2) *an-tu-PI-š[al-li-x?]* (*KUB XXXIX* 88 rev. iv 18), (3) *an-tu-GAL* (*HWb*, 24 s.v.), and (4) *an-tu-u-PI-šal-li-iš* (*KBo* V 7 rev. 52). Of these spellings the fourth is the most significant in that the extra *u* before the *PI* sign points to the reading *wa* rather than *uw*. This argument only attacks the assumption that no pronounced **antuwašalliš* ever existed; it does not deny that an original **antuwašalliš* might later have been expanded to **antuwašalliš*. The root of this word does not seem to be IE at all, but either Hattic or Hurrian. A more satisfactory analysis than Kronasser's might be **antuws-/antubš-+alli-*. No **antuws-/antubš-* is attested yet in Hattic or Hurrian texts, but it might be the semantic equivalent of the *abūsi* in the expression *bēl abūsi*. The *-alli-* would be the same formative found in the *nomina actoris*: ^Lṽ*tapariyalli-*, ^Lṽ*himmalli-*, ^Lṽ*suppiwašhanalli-*, ^Lṽ*tarriyanalli-*, and ^Lṽ*arkammanalli-*. Unlike Friedrich (*HE*² § 47c) Kronasser (*EHS*, I, § 118:2) seems to recognize that *-alli-* as well as *-ala-* can be employed to form *nomina actoris*. See also van Brock on *antuwašalli-* (*RHA* f. 71 [1962], 115), who pro-

⁽¹⁾ *WdO* 3 (1966), 206-245.

⁽²⁾ *WdO* 3 (1966), 210 and 240, n. 179.

⁽³⁾ *WdO* 3 (1966), 240, n. 179.

⁽⁴⁾ Sommer, *AU*, 123; cf. also Goetze, *RHA* f. 54 (1952), 8, n. 20.

poses a Hattic origin and an original vocalization **antuwašel*. Accordingly, this term is *not* a composite, and *an-tu-GAL* is only a rebus without any true etymological basis. The phonetics of *antubšalli*, as compared with *an-tu-GAL* (= **antuššalli-?*) is paralleled by *habšalli-/haššalli-* (HWb, 55).

5. $N_1 + N_2 = N_3$ ⁽¹⁾.

Composites in this category are often notional equivalents to genitival phrases. In all but one of the following five examples the relationship posited by the advocates of the composite interpretation is a genitival one. *Allantaru-* is the sole exception. In composites of this category which are notionally genitive phrases the normal order of components is *nomen rectum* followed by *nomen regens*. The opposite order is supposed for *piršahhannaš*. In *allantaru-* no genitival phrase is involved. Instead, if my analysis is correct, we have a sequence of two nouns of which the first has a more specific and limited scope of reference.

a. *Pirešhannaš/piršahhannaš/pirzahanaš*, etc. (HWb Erg. 2, 21; Laroche, *RHA* f. 61 [1957], 128; *EHS*, I, 125). This term designates a kind of cattle. It occurs in a number of variant spellings, some semi-ideographic: *é-er-ša-ah-ša-an-na-aš* (KBo V 7 ii 42). Laroche has proposed the segmentation; *per* "house" + *šahhanaš* "of feudal due" ⁽²⁾. Several serious difficulties beset this interpretation: (1) the spellings with doubled *n* against the consistent single spellings of the word *šahhan* (gen. *šahhanaš*), (2) the sequence of morphemes (*nomen regens* followed by *nomen rectum*) is the reverse of that which one expects for this category, and (3) the radical divergence of spellings (especially *perešhannaš*) does not fit the identification. For these reasons I am very skeptical about Laroche's solution.

b. *Ištamaḫura-* "earring" (HWb, 90; cf. *RHA* f. 72 [1963], 38, n. 21) That this noun should be considered as a composite containing the elements *ištama(n)-* "ear" and **ḫura-* "ornament(?)" was my contention in *RHA* f. 72 (1963), 38, n. 21. Alp has shown that *ištamaḫura-* alternates with *ḫub.bi* and denotes an "earring" ⁽³⁾. Laroche has tentatively suggested that *ḫurair* in KUB XXIX 1 iii 39 ff. be trans-

⁽¹⁾ Cf. A. Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 (1961), 245.

⁽²⁾ *RHA* f. 61 (1957), 128; cf. also Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 (1961), 245.

⁽³⁾ *Belleten* 12, 324.

lated “ils l’ont orné(?)” ⁽¹⁾. And Friedrich has included this rendering of *hurai-* (“schmücken”) in *HWb*, Erg. 1, 7. The only other examples of this verb to my knowledge are the two occurrences of the participle *hurant-* in KUB XXXIX 61 rev. iii 9-10. It is virtually certain

that *hurai-* is a reduced grade of the *Glossenkeil* verb *hu-u-wa-ra-an-zi*, which is construed with ^{NA4}*kuwannanaza* in KUB VI 24 obv. 6. Whether or not this verbal root is to be connected with the form *hu-u-ra-at-ti-ša-an* (KBo III rev. iii 12, cf. 30) remains to be seen. Laroche’s cautious rendering “ils l’ont orné(?)” for KUB XXIX 1 iii 39 ff. is only one of several possible interpretations. Prof. Güterbock has privately offered another tentative rendering of “pierce, perforate(?)”. In the broken incantation passage, KUB XXXIX 61 rev. iii 9-10 (*hu-u-ra-an-za e-eš EME[.] hu-u-ra-an-za e-eš-du*) the subject may be an evil which is being exorcised. If so, then the practitioner would be more likely to wish it “pierced” than “adorned”. But the context is not that clear. In the fragmentary omen KUB VI 24 (Cat. 202:2) obv. 2? and 6 the text seems to read: [Dİ]NGIR-ni-

ma-za-pát ^{NA4}*ku-wa-an-na-na-za* *hu-u-wa-ra-an-zi*, “they make a circle (???) for just the god with gems (?; ^{NA4}*kuwannanaz* can be ablative plural as well as singular; on ^{NA4}*ku(wa)nnan-* = ^{NA4} see Laroche, *RA* 59 [1965] 85)”. Regarding KUB XXIX 1 (+) (Cat. 308) iii 39ff., the text runs thus: DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*wa* GUNNI *da-a-er nu-wa-ra-an ku-un-na-ni-it hu-u-ra-i-ir na-an AN.BAR-it ša-an-ḫi-ir nu-uš-ša-an* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *e-ša-an-ta-ri*, “the gods have taken the hearth/brazier; they have encircled(?) it with gems; they have . . -ed it with iron; and (now) they are sitting down”. The translation “encircled(?)” is only a guess. “To adorn” does not fit the incantation; “to encircle (in hostile sense?)” might fit. To summarize: Even if we cannot arrive at a certain meaning for *hurai-*, it is reasonably clear that the **-hura-* of *ištamahura-* is not a formative, but a nominal component of a composite noun. If we posit a meaning “pierce(?)”, “ornament(?)”, or “encircle(?)”, for the verb *hurai-*, we would still be able to arrive at a suitable nominal meaning for **hura-*, which would fit the composite. The noun **hura-* would mean either “hole, perforation(?)”, “ornament(?)”, or “circlet(?)”, depending upon the meaning chosen for the verb.

(1) *RHA* f. 60 (1957), 14.

c. *Šiwanzanna-* "god's mother(?)" (a kind of priestess; Ehelolf, *ZA NF* 2 [1925], 318; Rosenkranz, *JCS* 2 [1948], 252 ff.; *HWb*, 195; *EHS*, I, 125-126). Kronasser analyzes *šiwanzanna-* as **šiwannants+anna-*, becoming by haplography **šiwants+anna-*. Similarly (p. 126) he understands the NINDA name *šiwandannanni-* as a form reduced by haplography from **šiwannant-* "god" + a second element meaning "food(?)". Kronasser recognizes the difficulty of positing an *n*-stem form **šiwān-* for a noun of common gender, so he prefers to assume haplography from a form **šiwannant-* expanded from *šiwana-* by *-nt-*. This assumed haplography seems questionable to me. The second questionable feature of his analysis is the assumption of the *-š* genitive instead of the normal *-aš*. If I understand Brugmann and Delbrück correctly, such "Kasuskomposita" (their class 4) are innovations or late developments within the daughter languages. An *-š* genitive, if there ever was one in Nesite or Luwian, would not likely be an innovation. The entire analysis is so fraught with difficulties that the identity of the elements is doomed to remain speculative.

d. *Allantaru-*, a kind of tree and its wood (*HWb*, Erg. 2, 7; cf. Otten, TR, 134 f.). Rebus writings like [^{G1}š]al-la-an-^{G1}š-r[u] (TR, 125) prove nothing, of course, about etymology. Whether or not the final part of this word is really *taru-* "wood" must be determined on other grounds. In the present instance, however, it is safe to conclude that a final component **taru* in a tree name is as likely to be "wood" or "tree" as is a final **alkeš(ša)na-* or **alkuštana-* (cf. *alkiš-tana-*) in a plant name to be "branch". As for the first component in this form, I am not sure that I can add anything substantial to the observations of Otten⁽¹⁾. It is true (TR, 135) that there is a wood named *alanza(n)-* (*HWb*, 19)⁽²⁾, but this is spelled with an undoubted *l*. In KUB XXXIII 32 rev. iii 9 we also find a form ^{G1}šal-la-ya-[na?-x?]⁽³⁾, which we cannot identify as a tree from the context. But must we assume that all Hittite composites contain only native components? It is certainly possible that a foreign word for a type of

⁽¹⁾ TR, 134 f.

⁽²⁾ Citing Goetze, *Mel. Pedersen*, 490, n. 4. In addition to the forms and references cited in *HWb* one finds: ^{G1}ša-la-an-za-aš (KUB XXXIII 81 obv. i 11), ^{G1}ša-la-an-za-na-aš (KBo IV 2 rev. iii 33; KUB VII 23:7; KUB XXXV 142 obv. i 8), ^{G1}ša-la-an-za-na-an (KUB XVII 27 obv. ii 17), and ^{G1}ša-la-an-za-[] (KBo XIV 98 obv. ii 2).

⁽³⁾ To be restored on the basis of ^{G1}ša-al-la-ya-nu-uš (KUB XXXV 164 rev. iii 5)?

tree would be compounded with the native word for "tree" or "wood". In this regard perhaps we should consider the Semitic word *'allānu*, which appears in Hebrew either as אֵלֶן or אֵלָן⁽¹⁾ and in Ugaritic as *aln*⁽²⁾. If the source is West Semitic, the word would have derived from a dialect in which the "Canaanite shift" of stressed long *ā* to *ō* (represented in cuneiform as *ū*) had not occurred. The dialects of Ugarit or Alalakh might have been the source. Or again, **'allān* "oak" might have been borrowed from Akkadian (through Hurrian?), which also has an *allānu(m)* "oak"⁽³⁾. For the question of the Semitic case ending see below (Part II).

e. *Annanega-* (*HWb*, 21; Goetze, *Symb. Hrozny*, I, 289 f.; Friedrich, *HG*, 114 with ns. 5 and 6). Goetze has proposed that *annanega-* be interpreted as a composite noun made up of the two nouns *anna-* "mother" and *nega/u-* "sister", the latter of which he maintains is to be read in KBo VI 26 iv 26 (= Hittite law #200A)⁽⁴⁾. Friedrich questions Goetze's reading *an-na-aš-ša-an ne-ku?[-uš-ša-an]*, proposing instead *an-na-aš-ša-an-n[a?]*⁽⁵⁾. Friedrich observes in his footnote 8 to #200A that the hand copy in KBo VI 26 (made by Hronzy) indicates *an-na-aš-ša-an[]ne-*, but he considers this insufficient evidence. It is true, as Friedrich observes, that copy *k* (KUB XIII 14 rev. 1-3) is broken at this point, but what he fails to note is that the space available between the visible *na* and the fully visible *ū-en-zi* is insufficient to accommodate the eight signs which according to Goetze's view must intervene between the *na* of *an-na-aš-ša-an* and the *ū* of *ū-en-zi*. The space available in KUB XIII 14 rev. 3 will accommodate at best four signs of medium length. Furthermore, the traces of the last sign before *ū-en-zi* do not fit *an*. They may fit *na*, but not well. Friedrich *does* note that the space in KBo VI 26 is too small to accommodate Goetze's restoration⁽⁶⁾. Unfortunately, the third manuscript which covers this paragraph (KUB XXIX 22 iv edge; = *o*₂, not *o*₃!) preserves only a few traces. There does seem to be an independent noun *nega-* in Hittite, which is attested

(1) Ges.-Buhl, *HAHAT*¹⁷, 41a.

(2) *UT*, 359, glossary entry #193.

(3) *CAD* A¹, 354-355; note also the interesting name *allānkaniš* "Kaniš oak".

(4) Goetze, *ArOr* 17 (1949), 290, n. 12; Friedrich, *HG*, 114, n. 5.

(5) *HG*, 114, n. 5.

(6) *HG*, 115.

in the following forms: *ne-ga-aš-t[a?]-aš-ša* (KBo III 28 obv. ii 7 = 2 BoTU 10 6; the autograph copy indicates two vertical strokes in the beginning of the sign which I have transcribed as *t[a?]*; Goetze reads *š[a]*), and *ne-ga-an* (KUB XXXI 74 obv. ii 15 in broken text of instructions). Whether or not this noun means "sister" must yet be established. I have included *annanega-* in this discussion of composites on the basis of Goetze's analysis. Another explanation of the form, however, has occurred to the writer. It is striking that three of the fundamental terms for family relationship in Luwian all begin with **na-* ⁽¹⁾, and the terms for "brother" (*nani-*) and "sister" (*nanašri-*) have in common the root **nan-*. If these Luwian forms were descended from longer stems with initial *a* (**annani-* and **annanašri-*), they would have the same base as *annanega-*, **annan-*. Now the Luwian terms *nani-* and *nanašri-* are masculine and feminine counterparts to each other, formally distinguished from each other by the Luwian feminine ending *-šri-* (from *-šari-/šara-*) ⁽²⁾. Goetze and Landsberger have agreed that the *-ika-* in Nesite personal names is of IE derivation ⁽³⁾. If *-ika-/eka-* is the "Kanishite" (Nesite) feminine formative analogous to Luwian *-š(a)ra-/š(a)ri-*, then the Luwian *nanašri-* (**annanašri-*?) is evidently the semantic and morphological counterpart to Nesite *annaneka-*. If this line of reasoning can be sustained, then *annaneka-* means "sister", and not "sister of the (same) mother". Of course, in the code passage (#191) the resultant meaning "sister (of the same mother)" is assured by the context, since "sisters (*annanekuš*) ...and their (pl.) mother (sg.) (*anna(n)-šman-a*)" can sustain no other interpretation. But this meaning results from factors *outside of* the noun *annanekuš* itself.

6. $Pr + Va_1 = Va_2$.

That a preverb can become so much a part of the verb which it precedes that it will accompany it even in deverbal noun formations is well known to Hittitologists from such examples as *para ḫandanda-*

⁽¹⁾ In cuneiform Luwian *nani-* "brother" and *nanašri-* "sister"; in hieroglyphic Luwian *namuwa-* "son" (*HWb* Erg. 2, 41 and 46).

⁽²⁾ Friedrich, *HE*² §50a, §383g; *EHS* I, §106:2,6.

⁽³⁾ Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954), 124, n. 4 (includes *-ika* names, even with reference to Czech); Goetze, *RHA* f. 66 (1960), 48.

tar ⁽¹⁾, *piran huyatalla-* ⁽²⁾, *Ḫu-para uwant-* ⁽³⁾, etc. The convention followed in transcribing these forms indicates that Hittitologists do not regard them as having fused into one word. Hence, we transcribe *pi-ra-an hu-ya-tal-la-aš* rather than *pi-ra-an-ḫu-ya-tal-la-aš*. Yet there exists a class of composites the first element of which is a preverb and the second a participle in which fusion has clearly taken place ⁽⁴⁾. The following single example will illustrate this statement.

a. *Antiyant-*, a special kind of son-in-law similar to Turkish *içgüvey* (Balkan, *Dergi* 6, 147 ff.; *HWb*, 23, Erg. 2, 7). Balkan, who first analyzed this form correctly, suggested that the components were the preverb *anda* and the participle of the verb *iya-* (Vmp) "to go". Subsequently, Machek ⁽⁵⁾ has preferred to identify the second element with the verb *tiya-* "to enter". Without attempting to settle the difference of opinion on the precise identity of the verbal element ⁽⁶⁾, I believe it is sufficient to point out here that the elision of the final vowel of the preverb *anda* takes place here, whereas it fails to take place in *Ḫu-andayandatar*. Presumably the elision would also occur, if the second component began with *a*. When, however, the second component begins with *u*, the final vowel on the first member may remain (*Ḫu-pa-ra-a-ú-wa-an-da-an-na?*; *Cor. Ling.*, 64). The final vowel of the preverb/adverb also remains, when the second component begins with a consonant (*kattakurant-*). Note also the additional occurrence of this term in the new fragment of the Telipinuš Proclamation, KBo XII 4 obv. ii 8: *Ḫu-an-ti-ya-an-[d]a-a[n]*.

⁽¹⁾ *HWb*, 52.

⁽²⁾ *HWb*, 71.

⁽³⁾ *HWb*, 239; Zuntz, *Ortsadv.*, 68; Güterbock, *Cor. Ling.*, 64.

⁽⁴⁾ One cannot be absolutely certain that *DUGkattakurant-* or *NINDAšerkurant-* were not conceived as *DUGkatta kurant-* or *NINDAšer kurant-*, since no writings like **DUGkat-ta-ak-ku-ra-an-za* exist. On the other hand, when the adverb or preverb ends in a vowel and the second element begins with a vowel of a different quality, the fusion will be evident (e.g. *Ḫu-an-ti-ya-an-za* instead of **Ḫu-an-da i-ya-an-za*; yet *Ḫu-an-da i-ya-an-da an-ni* of KUB XIII 8 obv. 14 may be related to a nominative which is normalized **Ḫu-anda iyandatar* just as well as **Ḫu-andayandatar*).

⁽⁵⁾ *Lingua Posn.* 7, 81 ff.; cf. also Güterbock, *Cor. Ling.*, 64.

⁽⁶⁾ In favor of Balkan's original analysis (*anda + iyant-*) and against Machek (*anda + tiyant-*) is the observation that the final vowel of the preverb *anda* would not be expected to elide before a verbal beginning with a consonant (cf. *ḫanti + tiyatalla-*, *katta + kurant-*, etc.).

Although *katta* may be either preverb or adverb by form, I have included it in my seventh category rather than here, because of its apparent relationship to *še-er-ku?-ra-an-te-eš*, the first element of which cannot be a preverb but must be an adverb. Furthermore, the meaning attributed to ^{DUG}*kattakurant-* requires an adverbial rather than preverbal force for *katta*.

7. Adv + Va₁ = Va₂.

The two examples in this category contain an adverb in the first position and a participle (verbal adjective) in the second.

a. ^{DUG}*Kattakurant-*, a kind of vessel, cut off or incised at the bottom; (Güterbock, *Cor. Ling.*, 63-64; *HWb*, 105). The final vowel of the adverb has not elided in composition, since the second component begins with a consonant. The first component could, of course, have been *kattan*, in which case the final *n*, which assimilates to the *k* of *kurant-*, has protected the *a* vowel from eliding. The second component appears to be the participle of the verb *kuer-* "to cut" ⁽¹⁾.

b. ^{NINDA}*Šerkurant-(?)*, a kind of bread, cut off or incised at the top(?). The only occurrence of this bread name is KUB IX 2 obv. i 19: 3 ^{NINDA}*še-er-ku(?) -ra-an-te-eš*. It is not listed in *HWb*, but, its significance must be evident to all. For it is the semantic opposite of the vessel name ^{DUG}*kattakurant-*. Whatever the exact significance of the verb *kuer-* might be in this compound, it seems probable that in general it has to do with the shaping of the unbaked dough, just as presumably the ^{DUG}*kattakurant-* was manufactured by some kind of distinctive shaping of the unfired clay.

A problem arises, as I have indicated above by my question marks, in connection with the drawing of the sign *ku(?)* in KUB IX 2 obv. i 19. It is longer than the usual *ku* and looks more like a *ma*. On the other hand, an examination of the autographed copies of the writings of ^{DUG}*kattakurant-* reveals variation in the representation of the *ku* sign. In KUB XI 35 obv. ii 26 the *ku(?)* in ^{DUG}*kattakurant-* is the same size as the *ma*'s in lines 21 and 25. In KUB X 28 obv. ii 7 the *ku(?)* in *kattakurant-* is smaller than the *ma* in line 6, but larger than the *ku* in col. i, line 19. In KUB II 6 rev. iv 19 the *ku(?)* is smaller than the *ma* in line 32. It is likewise smaller than adjacent

⁽¹⁾ So presumed by Güterbock, *Cor. Ling.*, 63.

ma's in KUB X 10 obv. i 2; 15 rev. iv 15; 90 rev. 2; and KUB XI 19 rev. iv 8. The relevant sign is obliterated in KUB X 90 rev. 3. It does not seem possible to me to read the sign in ^{DUG}*kattakurant-* as *ma*, so as to arrive at *^{DUG}*kattamarant-*. On the other hand, to disassociate ^{NINDA}*še-er-ku(?)*-*ra-an-te-eš* from ^{DUG}*kattakurant-* on the basis of this one occurrence and the longer drawing of *ku* is unacceptable to me. Furthermore, the ^{NINDA}*ša-ra-a mar-ra-an-te-eš* of KBo X 34 obv. i 11 does not prove the reading ^{NINDA}*še-er-ma(?)*-*ra-an-te-eš*, since *šara* is a preverb, while *šer* is an adverb. The two forms, even if *ma* is correct for ^{NINDA}*šermarant-(?)*, would not mean the same thing! One would expect too a double writing of the second *r* in ^{NINDA}*še-er-ma(?)*-*ra-an-te-eš*. Because the *katta* in ^{DUG}*kattakurant-* is an adverb (not preverb), and the *šer* in *šerkurant-(?)* is also, I would maintain that the two cannot be disassociated despite the "long" *ku* (found at least once in the writings of ^{DUG}*kattakurant-* too; see above).

8. $N + Va_1 = Va_2$.

Of the two examples adduced below the first has retained its originally adjectival force, while the second in its use as an epithet or name for a bird has become substantivized (see above on category two).

a. *Wizzapant-* "old" (Güterbock, *Cor. Ling.*, 64-65; *HWb*, 256; *Erg.* 2, 27; *EHS*, I, 126-127). Güterbock first identified this form as a composite, containing the elements *wet-/wit-* "year" and *pant-* (the participle of *pai-*) "advanced" ⁽¹⁾. The participle *pant-* from *pai-* "to go, proceed, advance" may refer to the aged individual; he has "advanced" in years ⁽²⁾. The form *wizza* poses problems in its vocalization. Is this a *Kasuskompositum* of Brugmann's fourth category? If so, what case is represented by *wizza*? The cuneiform writing *wizza* (*ú-iz-za*) regularly represents the nominative singular of the common gender *t*-stem noun *wit-* "year", usually written. *MU.KAM-za* ⁽³⁾. But, as Friedrich has observed, it is difficult to

⁽¹⁾ Güterbock, *Cor. Ling.*, 64-65.

⁽²⁾ Participles of transitive verbs are normally passive in Hittite, whereas those of intransitives (as here) are active, sometimes with a kind of perfective nuance ("having gone/advanced"). Cf. *HE*², 144-145.

⁽³⁾ *HWb*, 255.

construe the nominative with the participle here ⁽¹⁾. *Kasuskomposita* are not clearly attested in Hittite, the only other suggested example being the problematic *šiwanzanna-* (see above under 5c).

b. *Tarumaki-*, a bird name (*HWb*, 217). This noun occurs only once in Hittite texts, in KUB VIII 62 i 6, where we read: *tar-la-a-an*^{MUSEN} *ta-a-ru-ma-ki-i*[*n*^{MUSEN}]. Neither *tarla-* nor *tarumaki-* occur elsewhere as bird names, yet the above reconstruction of the text seems the most probable ⁽²⁾, I believe that *tarumaki-* is simply a compounded form of *taru-* "wood" and *wak-* "to bite, chew" ⁽³⁾. The resulting "wood-biter" or "wood-pecker" is an intelligible designation of the bird species *picus*. Woodpeckers are common in the Near East today, and there is no reason to suspect that they were not so in antiquity. The Arabic name for the woodpecker is نَقَّارُ الْخَشَبِ. The spelling of pronounced *w* with the *m* signs in Hittite cuneiform has been discussed at length recently by Kronasser ⁽⁴⁾. The question may arise: Why would "wood-pecker" not be written **taru-w/ma-kant-* (i.e., with the participle)? In the final analysis no one can answer such hypothetical questions. But it should be observed that in other IE languages there are non-participial verbal adjectives which serve the purpose here proposed in composites. Compare Greek αἱμο-βόρος "blood-sucking", δρυ-τόμος "wood-cutting", ἵππο-δάμος "horse-taming", βουλη-φόρος "counsel-giving", Vedic *ukha-chid-* "vessel-smashing", etc. **W/maki-* could be just such a non-participial verbal adjective in Hittite composites.

9. Bound morpheme + $Va_1 = Va_2$.

This example actually belongs to Brugmann's second category (see below in Part II for further discussion on this point). The first member is a bound morpheme and never occurs independently. To this category belongs IE **n* (Greek alpha-privative, etc.).

⁽¹⁾ *HWb*, Erg. 1, 23; but see further on the syntactical side G. Neumann, *Indogermanica*, 143 ff.

⁽²⁾ Another possible transliteration would be: *tar-la-a-an hu-ta-a-ru-ma-ki-i*[*n*], but **hutarumaki-* cannot be related to any known Hittite or Luwian root in a satisfactory fashion.

⁽³⁾ *HWb*, 241.

⁽⁴⁾ *HE*², 33; *EHS*, I, 81-88.

a. *duddummi-* “deaf” Ehelolf, *KlF* 1 [1930] 393-400; *HWb*, 230-231). The basic adjectival form which is adduced for “deaf” is *duddummi-*, although this occurs only in the adverbial derivative *duddumili* and in the expanded adjective in *-ant-*, *duddummiyant-*. Also built upon *duddummi-* are the verbs *duddummeš-* “to be deaf” and *duddummiyah-* “to make deaf”. Ehelolf has suggested on the basis of Bo 2527 (= *Song of Ullikummiš*, Tabl. II, col. ii, line 11; *JCS* 6 [1952] 32) with its spelling *du-ud-du-ud-mi-ya-an-za* that the form be analyzed as *du+duḍm-*, which becomes by assimilation *du+duḍm-* ⁽¹⁾. I find the form *duddudmiyanza* quite difficult and tend to agree with Friedrich’s exclamation point behind it in *HWb*, 231. I do not wish to discard the form as evidence, yet I suspect that we are confronted with a scribal slip of some kind ⁽²⁾ and would not base much analysis on it. In other respects I am inclined to analyze the form just as did Ehelolf: *du+duḍm-*. The first element fits into the same category as IE **dus-* ⁽³⁾. Brugmann and Delbruck indicate that IE **dus-* appears in Sanskrit as *dur-*, in Greek as *δυσ-*, and in Old Irish as *do-* ⁽⁴⁾. I would suggest that the **du-* of *duddummi-* is this same IE **dus-*. One of the words which in Greek express the adjectival notion “deaf” is *δυσ-παράιτητος* “hard to move by prayer, deaf”. The same *δυσ-* occurs in the verb *δυσ-βλεπέω* “to see badly, be partially blind”. The second element may be connected with the Luwian noun *tumman-* “ear” (= Nesite *ištamana-*) ⁽⁵⁾ or the Luwian verb *tumma(n)tai-* “to hear(?)” ⁽⁶⁾. The loss of the final *-an-* is admittedly difficult for the identification. The literal meaning would be “hard (*du-*) of hearing (*-duḍmi-*)”. Words expressing defects of hearing and sight often contain within them either the noun which denotes the sense organ or the verb which denotes the exercise of that sense. The Sumerogram which means “blind” in Hittite texts is a good example; *IGI.NU.GÁL* literally means “having no eye”. The Sumerogram for “deaf”, on the other hand is *Ú.ḪUB*, yet a rare example of *GEŠTUG.NU.GÁL* does exist at Ḫattušaš (KUB XVIII 16 ii 1). The Hittite adjective “blind” (*dašuwant-*) may also fit into this category. Ehelolf once pointed out that the single writing of the

⁽¹⁾ *KlF* 1 (1930), 395, n. 1.

⁽²⁾ *Ud* for *wa*?

⁽³⁾ Brugmann & Delbrück, *VGIS*, II, 28-29.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽⁵⁾ Bossert, *MIO* 4 (1956), 208.

⁽⁶⁾ *HWb* Erg. 2, 43 citing *DLL*.

š militated against a connection with *daššu-* "heavy" ⁽¹⁾. At the time Ehelolf wrote those words the only verb of seeing which was known in Hittite was *auš-*. Since that time others have come to light, such as *šakuwai-* (*HWb*, 177; proposed in 1946 by Güterbock) and *šuwaya-* (Güterbock, *RHA* f. 58 [1956], 22-25). The latter in particular seems a likely candidate for the second element of *dašu-want-* "blind". As for the first element **da-*, I have no proposal.

10. $V + N_1 = N_2$.

This category was suggested to me by Prof. Güterbock on the basis of several examples from modern German and English. Neither he nor I can be very sure that such a type of composite existed in the early phases of the IE languages, yet this analysis of the one example discussed below is somewhat appealing.

a. *Targaš(ša)na-*, an ass or a kind of ass ⁽²⁾. This term is only attested to date in Luwian, where it appears in cuneiform in the derivative noun *targaššanalli-* "ass-driver" (*HWb* Erg. 2, 42, citing *DLL*) and in hieroglyphic in the simple noun *targašna-* (Laroche, *HH*, I, 62-3, entry 100). In addition it occurs in the personal name ¹Targašnalliš, king of Ḫapalla (*Onom.* #684). Kronasser (*EHS*, I, 183) does not cite *targaš(ša)na-* as an example of the *-šana-/-šna-* formative. It is possible that the ending is nothing more than this, but another interpretation should be considered. The common IE root behind the Latin (*asinus*) and Greek (*ἄσος*) terms for the ass is believed to be **osono-* ⁽³⁾. A normalization **onoi* for the Mycenaean nom. pl. noun *o-no* is posited by Ventris & Chadwick ⁽⁴⁾, and Frisk ⁽⁵⁾, who likewise translate it "asses". The use of the term for the ass as a personal name can be established for Old Akkadian (¹Imāru) ⁽⁶⁾, Ur-III Akkadian (¹Emāru) ⁽⁷⁾, Mari Amorite (¹Ḫimarāti) ⁽⁸⁾, early

⁽¹⁾ See p. 397, n. 1 above.

⁽²⁾ Laroche, *Syria* 31 (1954), 109; Laroche, *HH* I, 62-63, entry 100.

⁽³⁾ Brugmann and Kretschmer cited in Frisk, *GEW*, II, 398.

⁽⁴⁾ *Docs.*, 401.

⁽⁵⁾ *GEW*, II, 397.

⁽⁶⁾ *CAD* I 112b.

⁽⁷⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽⁸⁾ *ARM* VIII 6:31.

Canaanite (𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤍) ⁽¹⁾, and Republican Roman (Asinius) nomenclature ⁽²⁾. Frisk and others ⁽³⁾ believe that the linguistic ancestor of ὄνος and *asinus* derived from Anatolia, specifically from the Pontus region. This theory would lead one to seek some trace of **os(o)no-* in the languages of second millennium Anatolia. If *targaš(ša)naš* can be analyzed as **targ*+**aš(ša)naš*, the second component might well be identified with this **os(o)nos*. As for the element **targ-*, I am inclined to connect it with IE **dherāgh-* “to pull, drag, carry” ⁽⁴⁾. The animal called *targaš(ša)na-* then would be either a “pack-ass” or a “draught-ass”. From the writing ANŠE-*aš* in the *Syllabar A* (Sa) lexical text cited apud *CAD* I, 110b sub *imēru* we learn that the Hittite word for “ass” was an *a*-stem noun of common gender. We know also from Mesopotamian texts (information assembled in *CAD* I, 112-113) that asses were used as draught, pack, and riding animals. Certainly they must have been used thus in Asia Minor. Textual evidence is usually drawn from Sumerograms which contain the final element(s) LÁ or AL.LÁ ⁽⁵⁾. While writings with simple LÁ or AL.LÁ (reading *b á r a - l á* would be attractive, but BĀR is usually quite distinct from AL at Boğazköy) might signify a draught animal, the writer is very skeptical of the more familiar writings with SAL (i.e., SAL.AL.LÁ). Oppenheim once suggested that “the quality termed *a l* [or *a l - l á*] was important for the value of the hide” ⁽⁶⁾. The animal called AL in Oppenheim’s examples is the cow (*á b*). Professors Oppenheim and Civil now inform me that the sign which Oppenheim read *a l* in *Eames Catalogue* must now be read *m a ḫ*. This information is supported by the observations of Landsberger in *MSL* VIII/1, 63, n. 1, who translates *á b.AL* as “a full-grown cow that has calved”. Since, as Landsberger notes, MAḪ in Hittite texts connotes more than just age, pointing to a bull which has been spared from agricultural work and/or not castrated, so as to be suited for stud purposes, AL (*m a ḫ*) may also extend beyond the designation of age in itself at Boğazköy and point to a female animal which is

⁽¹⁾ *Genesis* 34:2ff.

⁽²⁾ *Der kleine Pauly*, I, 638-640.

⁽³⁾ See p. 398, n. 3 above.

⁽⁴⁾ Pokorny, *IEW*, 257.

⁽⁵⁾ For LÁ, compare GUD APIN.LÁ; for AL.LÁ, compare ANŠE.KUR.RA SAL.AL.LÁ, ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA SAL.AL.LÁ, and ANŠE SAL.AL.LÁ. Compare *HWb* on each of these Sumerograms.

⁽⁶⁾ *Catalogue... Eames*, 38.

old enough to bear. However, Prof. W. W. Hallo has been good enough to suggest to me yet another way of interpreting SAL.AL.LÁ. He suggests very cautiously that SAL.AL.LÁ *may* be read šal^{a1}-lá for šalla m = šila m "female, milk-producing". He advises me that šila m was applied originally to cows, but in the context of KUB XXXV 142 rev. iv (which I discussed with him) extended to all kinds of animals whose gender is not differentiated in the logogram (ANŠE.KUR.RA, ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA, ANŠE, ŠAḪ, UR.GI, and Akkadian *lulīmu* as contrasted with ^{GUD}AB, UDU.SIG+SAL, and ÛZ in the same listing). KUB XXXV 142 rev. iv is an excellent test passage for SAL.AL.LÁ, since here we have a simple listing of male and female counterparts of animals. There is nothing to indicate that qualities other than those related to sex are involved. Hence, the idea of "draught (animal)" is out of the question. Furthermore, the sow, the bitch, and the doe would certainly be less likely to be used as draught animals than horses, mules, or donkeys. The shorter ANŠE.KUR.RA SAL AL of KBo XIV 132 rev. iii 5 is probably not a mistake for ANŠE.KUR.RA SAL AL<.LA>, but a genuine variant. The element **targ-* in *targaš(ša)na-* is not attested as an independent verb in published texts, but it may function as a verb in this compound. For more discussion of the composite type $V + N_1 = V_2$ see below in Part II. Finally, with regard to the theory that there is a connection between IE **osono-* and Sumerian *a n š u*, the metathesis of **a š n u* to **a n š u* required by this theory is possible, but to my mind only remotely so.

II. Integration with Rules of IE Composite Formation

Brugmann and Delbrück have segregated the various known composites in the IE languages into four categories: (1) those whose first member is a morpheme with independent existence and which is declinable, (2) those whose first member is without independent existence (i.e., a bound morpheme), (3) those whose first member is an old adverb also attested independently, and (4) those whose first member is a declined noun or a form which only developed into an adverb in the recent and separate development of the individual language. Composites belonging to class one exhibit the stem form (including theme vowel, but no case endings) in the first member. Composites of type two have indeclinable first members, as do those

of type three. The first member of composites belonging to class four, if nouns, pronouns, or adjectives, will be declined, the most common type being nouns in the genitive case. The only type of composite suggested for our examples but not represented in Brugmann and Delbruck is $V + N_1 = N_2$. Prof. H. G. Güterbock has suggested several modern examples to me (modern German *Stehplatz* and modern English *go-cart*). Other English examples are: *tread-mill*, *plow-ox*, *watch-dog*, *throw-rug*, etc. This pattern may represent an innovation in modern English and German and not a legacy of IE. Yet it is worth considering if Hittite *targ+aš(ša)na-* is not just such a form, even if we must conclude that the pattern $V + N_1 = N_2$ is also an innovation in Luwian.

Of the remaining Hittite examples cited above whose status as composites I have not questioned all first members exhibit the stem form of the noun, verb, or adjective involved. It is notable that the *r/n* stem noun *ḫattar* (gen. *ḫattanaš*) exhibits the consonant of the overt rather than oblique stem. If *ḫirešḫannaš* is really a composite (*ḫer+šaḫḫan*), it exhibits its *r* stem consonant. *U*-stem forms are *aššu-* in *aššuzeri-* and *taru-* in *tarumaki-*. An apparent *n*-stem is **ištaman-* "ear" in *ištamaḫura-* (the *n* has assimilated to the *ḫ*, as in *ištanḫ-/ištahḫ-*) instead of the usual *a*-stem *ištamana-*. The only *i*-stem is *šuppi-* in *šuppiwashar*. An unusual *a*-stem instead of the usual *i* is **šalla-* in *šallakardai-/šallakardaḫ*. *Wizzapant-* poses a problem: the stem is *we/it-* i.e., a *t*-stem. It is true that in Greek the stem was **wetes-* (Fέτος, gen. Fέτεος), but there is no evidence for the *š*-stem in Nesite or Luwian. It is this consideration, along with the unusual order ($N + Va_1 = Va_2$), which renders its status as a composite questionable. The apparent lack of a stem vowel on the first elements of *ḫatalkeššana-* and *tapalkuštana-* is doubtless because the second element begins with a vowel. In another Hittite example compare *antiyant-* from **anda+iyant-*. Brugmann and Delbrück cite many other examples, such as: Sanskr. *yukta-aśvas* > *yuktaśvas*, Greek **τιμα-ορός* > *τιμωρός*, **ιππο-αγωγός* > *ιππαγωγός*. The true stems of the adjectives(?) in *ḫatalkeššana-* and *tapalkuštana-* may have been **ḫata-* and **tapa-*. A more serious problem is posed by *walkiššara-*. No *l*-stem adjectives are attested for Hittite or for IE. According to the rules this member should exhibit a vocalic stem-ending (**wala-/wali-/walu-*). It may be that this jeopardizes its status as a genuine composite. The word "god" in *šiwanzanna-* should be the *n*-stem *šiwana-/šiun-*. The only plausible explanation

for the *z* (**ts*) is the emergence of a *Sprosskonsonant* *t* from **šiwantš* to **šiwantš̌*. But even here there is difficulty. What is the *š̌*? If it is an indication of the genitive singular, where is the *a* (IE **o*) which belongs to the genitive singular ending (IE **-os*; Hittite *-aš*)? And finally in the case of *allantaru-*, if our thesis that **allan-* is Semitic *allānu*, the Hittite speakers who coined the word *allantaru-* simply recognized from the spoken variations *allānu* (nom.), *allāni* (gen.), *allāna* that the "stem" (Semitic root) ended with the *n*.

Into Brugmann and Delbrück's second category falls *duddummi-* (*du + dummi-*) "hard of hearing, deaf." The element **du-*, like Sanskrit *dur-*, Greek *δυσ-*, and Old Irish *do-*, derives from IE **dus-* which is a bound morpheme.

Into Brugmann and Delbrück's third category fall *appašiwat-*, *šarriwašpa-*, *kattakurant-*, and *šerkurant-*, whose first members are primitive adverbs.

Of the fourth category there seems to be no trace in Hittite, unless we consider *pirešhannaš* to contain the genitive singular **peraš/*perš̌*, which is not likely.



Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity: Their Use in Ancient near Eastern Sympathetic Magic Rituals

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Sep., 1966, Vol. 85, No. 3 (Sep., 1966), pp. 326-334

Published by: The Society of Biblical Literature

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SYMBOLS FOR MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY

THEIR USE IN ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN SYMPATHETIC MAGIC RITUALS

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EVERY serious biblical scholar today is well aware of the prominent rôle which fertility and sex enjoyed in the religions of the ancient Near East.¹ One of the principal tasks which the ancient Near Easterner entrusted to his religion was the securing of the favor of the gods, so that they would either grant fertility or sustain it. This fertility could be conceived in terms of bumper crops, of thriving livestock, or of a growing family.² But the sexual capability³ of the individual male or

¹ See the representative bibliography compiled by M. H. Pope at the close of his article "Fertility Cults" in the *IntDB*, 2, p. 265.

² The overlapping in the concept of fertility is aptly reflected in the activities of fertility deities such as Baal, who exerts his procreative powers upon livestock as well as upon female deities (*ANET*, p. 142).

³ I use the term "capability" advisedly to designate both fertility in the narrow sense and potency in the broader sense. A misconception shared unfortunately by many OT scholars is that the early Near Easterner was only concerned with the former and not the latter. If a couple could not have children, it was always the woman's fault; she was barren; no one ever said that the man was impotent or sterile. Such a conception may be plausible to some, but to the present writer it is absolutely untenable. The fact of the matter is that we actually possess rituals to restore potency to the impotent man (compare the Hittite ritual of Paškuwatti discussed below). Besides these we have mythological texts, such as Text 52 from Ugarit, where the entire suspense of the plot centers in the question of whether or not the central figure can muster the sexual vitality to copulate with his partner(s). To aid him in this task he is provided not only with the girls themselves but also with a special ritual designed to promote his potency (lines 13-15). Yet another example of a man in this plight is Appu in a Hurrian myth (*ZA NF*, 49, pp. 214 ff.). It is not sheer speculation, therefore, which leads us to conclude that sexual impotency was a problem faced by a small but nonetheless significant number of males in the ancient Near East. Men of the second millennium B.C. may not have possessed the scientific knowledge to understand male "sterility" in the sense of insufficient sperms to impregnate, but they were alert enough to comprehend the simple inability to copulate. Such men would require professional help in the form of ritual practitioners. The case of King Daniel also exhibits similarities. On this subject the detailed study by J. Obermann (*JAOS*, 66, 1946, Supplement) should be consulted. I am not convinced that the actions performed by Daniel in II AQHT (=AQHT A), col. 1, lines 1-18 constitute a remedial ritual employed to cure his sterility. It seems more likely that these offerings presented over a seven-day period and the problematic action described in lines 14-16 were designed merely to attract the deity's attention and incline him to heed the king's petition. Perhaps the distinction is slight, but such actions do not really fit in the same category with rituals of sympathetic magic.

female was certainly the keystone of the entire complex. Crops and livestock would afford small consolation to an individual who felt himself (or herself) somewhat less than a man (or woman) because of inability to reproduce.

The masculinity of the ancient was measured by two criteria: (1) his prowess in battle, and (2) his ability to sire children.⁴ Because these two aspects of masculinity were frequently associated with each other in the mind of the early Near Easterner, the symbols which represented his masculinity to himself and his society often possessed a double reference. In particular, those symbols which primarily referred to his military exploits often served to remind him of his sexual ability as well. So too with symbols associated with femininity: objects which recall her domestic duties frequently carry overtones of her fertility and sexual drives.

Such symbols served a dual purpose in early Near Eastern society: (1) as symbols of conventional propriety in dress, and (2) as possessors of a kind of inherent magical power to bestow the very sexual attributes which they represented. As such, the symbols of the two sexes were often employed in rituals and charms.⁵ In a limited number of cases it appears that practitioners employed the symbol of the opposite sex to "neutralize" or eliminate the target individual's present sexual powers.⁶ An impotent man or a barren woman might engage a professional sorcerer to perform upon him a ritual to restore the ability to reproduce. Such a ritual would usually involve the use of symbols for masculinity or femininity, which, when applied to or removed from the patient, accompanied by the recitation of the magic spell, would induce the departure of sterility and the restoration of reproductive powers.⁷ Such

⁴ Reflecting this concept is the use of the Hittite noun *LÚ-natar* (*HWb*, p. 284) "masculinity" in both the sense "male genitalia" (KUB XXXIII 84:13) and "military exploit" (so in the royal inscriptions and annals).

⁵ This usage may be conclusively demonstrated for the ritual passages and for those mythological passages where sex or fertility is involved. Sometimes it is masculinity in the sense of battle prowess which is desired by the person who invests himself/herself in the symbols, as for example Paghat (*ANET*, p. 155), who in order to secure for herself masculine battle prowess to slay her brother's murderer dons masculine attire and even stains her skin with red murex, yet for purposes of disguising her intent she then puts on women's clothes over the men's clothes! For the intention of Anat in requesting Aqhat's bow, see further below.

⁶ This is obviously the intent in the ritual and prayer to Ishtar of Nineveh (E. Laroche, *Catalogue*, no. 406) as well as in the self-maledictory oaths of the Hittite soldiers (Laroche, *Catalogue*, no. 310). No clear example of this has been found in Ugaritic texts. A possible allusion to it in the OT is in David's curse against Joab and his descendants (II Sam 3).

⁷ Since the writer is not a full-time Assyriologist, examples of such rituals from Akkadian texts are more difficult to come by. Ugaritic text 52 has been recognized

procedures lie within the realm of "white" or curative magic. But since the removal of the symbols of one's own sex and the application of those of the opposite sex, when accompanied by the proper spells and curses, could bring about sterility, it was also possible to use such trappings as a terrible weapon against one's enemy — to deprive him of his most precious possession and most important capability, his masculinity.⁸ Such practices would naturally be classed as "black" or destructive magic.

We can be sure that such practices were widespread in the ancient Near East, wherever belief in the effectiveness of magic was current.⁹ The language of the spells might be Sumerian, Babylonian, Hittite, Egyptian, or Canaanite; the specific choice of symbols might vary slightly from people to people and land to land. But the cultural phenomenon was essentially the same.

The Hebrew Bible gives us very little concrete evidence regarding the forms which such practices may have assumed in ancient Canaan.¹⁰ This is, however, not difficult to understand, since such practices were offensive to Yahweh — *בִּיתוֹעֲבָה הוּא לְפָנַי יְהוָה* (Deut 24 4). As such, not only were they condemned, but all too often the description or even the simple naming of them was suppressed from the sacred writings.¹¹

On the other hand, we encounter no difficulty at all when we seek to identify the conventional sex symbols in ancient Israel, since these in themselves bore no offensive overtones. Indeed, they were often em-

as involving a kind of test of El's dormant procreative powers. An important aspect of the ritual drama involves his shooting a bird out of the sky with his bow (UT 52:37-38). In Hittite texts examples are numerous. Texts which are composite are referred to by their entry number in E. Laroche's *Catalogue des textes hittites* (published in *Revue hittite et asianique*, fasc. 58-62). Such ritual actions are prominent in the soldier's oath (*Cat.* 310), the ritual and prayer to Ishtar of Nineveh (*Cat.* 406), Paškuwatti's ritual against impotency (*Cat.* 319), and the ritual for founding a new palace (*Cat.* 308). The first and last of these were translated by A. Goetze for *ANET* (pp. 353-54, 357).

⁸ See n. 6 above.

⁹ See again M. H. Pope in *IntDB*, 2, p. 265 for the survey. In Egypt the principal deities involved would be Osiris, Min, and Horus. In Hatti fertility was in the hands of any of the storm-gods. H. G. Güterbock has demonstrated that even the so-called "vegetation deity" Telipinu was in all probability a storm-god (*Festschrift Friedrich*, pp. 207 ff.). The close nexus which existed there between mythological action and ritual practitioners is easily seen from the references within the Telipinu Myth itself to Kamrušepa's ritual actions (*ANET*, pp. 127-28).

¹⁰ The practice of boiling a kid in its mother's milk (Exod 23 19; 34 26; Deut 14 21) has been shown to belong to that class of ritual magic actions intended to promote fertility in general and sexual potency in particular, since it is observed in the Ugaritic text 52, line 14.

¹¹ For a summary sketch of what little is known of Canaanite sacrificial practices from the Old Testament see R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, pp. 438 f.

ployed in the poetic expression of true and orthodox religious sentiment.¹² The symbols for virile manhood were the bow and arrow,¹³ and those of womanhood the spindle or distaff¹⁴ and the characteristically feminine garments.¹⁵

The ideal, upper-class woman (the אִשְׁת־חַיִל, vs. 10) is described in Proverbs 31 in all of her characteristic activities. Central among them is putting forth her hand to the spindle (vs. 19). She does this, though with her husband's wealth she could hire others to spin for her, because this occupation and its accoutrements have become the standard mode of identifying herself with her sex.¹⁶ The ideal male, the true "man's man" of ancient Canaan, was skilled with the bow.¹⁷ He used his bow and arrows either to slay the enemies of his people or to procure game for his table. When a true man is celebrated in song, his many children (the visible proof of his sexual potency) are compared to arrows in the quiver of a mighty man.¹⁹ The ideal man piously boasts that Yahweh gives him such strength of arm, that he can bend a bow of bronze.²⁰ When a paragon of manhood is tragically cut off in the midst of his youth, his weapons of war (and his bow in particular) will receive special attention in his funeral lament.²¹

The same symbols for the ideal "man's man" and "woman's woman" were part of the epic repertoire of the Homeric bards in ancient Greece. They sing not only of fair Penelope at her loom, faithfully awaiting the return of her lord Odysseus from Troy, but even of the seductive goddess Calypso, who as a goddess might be expected to be exempt from such menial chores of mortal woman, sitting at her loom. And on the masculine side, it seems plausible that the task set before Penelope's suitors of stringing and drawing Odysseus' powerful bow was not only a test of

¹² The spindle (פָּלֵךְ or כִּישּׁוֹר) is referred to in Prov 31 19 and II Sam 3 29. The bow or its arrows as a symbol of masculine physical prowess and sexual potency occurs in II Sam 1 22; 22 35; II Kings 13 15 ff.; Hos 1 5; Ps 127 4-5.

¹³ See passages cited in n. 12 above. Note also Gen 27, where Esau is the "man's man" and carries a bow, while Jacob is portrayed as somewhat less than a true man, because he confines his activities to the flocks and tents.

¹⁴ Prov 31 19 and II Sam 3 29.

¹⁵ Deut 22 5.

¹⁶ Compare also other women from ancient myth and legend who, though of royal or divine status, are frequently associated with the loom (Penelope in the *Odyssey*, or the seductive goddess Calypso in *Odyssey* v, 61-2) or the spindle (Andromache in *Iliad* vi, 490 ff., and Asherah in the Elkunirša Myth). Hector's words to Andromache (*Iliad* vi, 490 ff.) are particularly interesting, since they contrast woman's tasks (the loom, ἱστός; and the distaff, ἡλακάτη) with man's (war, πόλεμος).

¹⁷ Esau (Gen 27 3) and Jonathan (II Sam 1 22); cf. also I Chron 12 2.

¹⁹ Ps 127 4-5.

²⁰ II Sam 22 35.

²¹ II Sam 1 21-22 mentions the קֶנֶן, the קֶשֶׁת, and the כֶּבֶד. On this lament and its East Mediterranean connections see C. H. Gordon, *JNES*, 17 (1958), pp. 46 ff.

physical strength, but also symbolized the ability of such a man to sire further children by her.

In Ugaritic literature two examples of the bow as a masculine symbol can be found. The first is in the tale of Aqhat. A bow and arrows are fashioned by the god Kothar-wa-Khasis and brought to King Daniel as a gift for his son Aqhat. Later in the story, when the goddess Anat seeks to buy them from Aqhat, the young hero, eager to be "diplomatic," at first seeks to dissuade her by offering her materials with which Kothar-wa-Khasis may fashion an identical set for her also. But when this conciliatory approach fails to dissuade the goddess, Aqhat reminds her that the bow is for men, and in particular for heroes, but not for women.²² In this instance (a strictly nonritualistic, mythological context with no sexual associations) the goddess seeks the bow, not to secure for herself male sexual powers, but rather to enhance her "quasi-masculine" bellicose attributes. The second example comes from a mythological episode with more pronounced fertility traits. In the Baal and Anat cycle, Baal's only recorded use of the bow (on a buffalo hunt to Shimak Cane-break in the vicinity of Lake Huleh) results in a prodigious orgy, in which he copulates with a heifer and sires a calf.²³ The spindle, the feminine sexual symbol, is mentioned only twice in Canaanite mythological contexts, in both cases in the hand of Asherah. The first instance, from the Ugaritic texts themselves, is of little value to our present discussion, since the immediate context of Text 51 II 3-4 is unintelligible because of lacunae. On the other hand, the second instance is quite relevant, for it is a seduction scene. In the tale of Asherah and Elkunirša — extant only in its Hittite version, but bearing unmistakable marks both in style and content of its Canaanite original²⁴ — Asherah cuckolds her husband by making amorous advances to Baal. When the latter declines her offers with all due propriety, she threatens him with the vehemence of a woman scorned: "With my word I will oppress you; with my spindle²⁵ I will pierce²⁶ you!" Here it would appear that the spindle, the very symbol of her sexual powers, will turn upon him who has rejected her charms and become the instrument of violent and bloody revenge.

In Hittite texts the same sexual symbols are commonly employed

²² II Aqht VI 39-40.

²³ *UT* 76 II and 132; *ANET*, p. 142.

²⁴ See the writer's paper, "The Elkunirša Myth Re-considered," *RHA*, f. 76 (1965), pp. 5-16.

²⁵ The word "spindle" is written ideographically here (gišBAL.TUR) rather than phonetically GIŠ^hulali-.

²⁶ On the problematic verb *ḫat(ta)rai-*, rendered here tentatively "to pierce," cf. H. Otten, *MIO*, 1, pp. 126 f., 128; E. Laroche, *MNHMIS XAPIN*, II, p. 3, n. 5; and the writer's forthcoming study "Composite Nouns, Verbs, and Adjectives in Hittite," *Orientalia*, NS, 35 (1966).

both in myth and in ritual: the bow and arrows for the man,²⁷ and the spindle (often coupled with the mirror)²⁸ for the woman. In the ritual of the sorceress Paškuwatti to cure sexual impotency²⁹ a key part of the proceedings involves taking a spindle, a mirror, and women's clothing from the impotent man and bestowing upon him the bow and arrow.³⁰

Examples of magical operations intended to *impair* the masculinity (hence, both military prowess and sexual potency) of one's enemy can also be found in Hittite texts. The best-known example is in the ritual and prayer to Ishtar of Nineveh,³¹ where the intention of both ritual and prayer is to destroy the masculinity and battle prowess of the enemy and to secure an extra measure thereof for the troops of Hatti.³² The key point of the prayer is reached when the practitioner says:

Take from (their) men masculinity, prowess, robust health, swords(?), battle-axes, bows, arrows, and dagger(s)! And bring them to Hatti! Place in their hands the spindle and mirror of a woman! Dress them as women! Put on their (heads) the *kureššar*³³! And take away from them your favor!³⁴

²⁷ In addition to the soldier's oath (*Cat.* 310), the prayer to Ishtar of Nineveh (*Cat.* 406), and Paškuwatti's ritual (*Cat.* 319), note in particular the passage from the ritual of the "washing of the mouth" (*Cat.* 389), KUB XXIX 8 obv ii 8–11, where, if the offerer is a man, he shoots with a bow and arrow. If the offerer is a woman, she lays her hand on the bow and then lets the LÚ.AZU shoot it for her.

²⁸ The same texts as adduced above for the bow are relevant here also.

²⁹ KUB IX 27 obv 20 ff. (*Cat.* 319).

³⁰ See *ANET*, p. 349.

³¹ KBo II 9 i 25–30 (*Cat.* 406).

³² Friedrich, *AO*, 25, pp. 21 ff.

³³ The TÚG*kureššar* is a kind of headgear characteristic for women. See Goetze, "Hittite Dress," in *Corolla Linguistica*, pp. 48–62, who does not discuss TÚG*kureššar*, since it does not occur in the lists of apparel which form the skeleton outline of the study. *HWb*, p. 117 gives a representative bibliography of studies of the word. It should be observed that on the basis of two independent lines of evidence one can establish the equation TÚG.NÍG.MUNUS=TÚG *kureššar*. (1) In the soldier's oath three (not just two!) items characteristic of women are employed. In KBo VI 34 obv ii 42 they are: TÚG.NÍG.MUNUS, GÍŠ*hulali*-, and GÍŠ*huesā*-. In lines 50 and 53 they are: TÚG *kureššar*, GÍŠ*hulali*-, and GÍŠ*huesā*-. The juxtaposition of these two sections yields the equation TÚG.NÍG.MUNUS=TÚG *kureššar*. The second line of evidence is phonological. In the account of the siege of Ursum there occurs a term *kuleššar* (KBo I 11 ii 17) which Güterbock was able to define as "feminine conduct" (*ZA NF*, 10, p. 128). This same term, which I would interpret as "femininity," occurs as *kureššar* to designate the headpiece so characteristic of womanhood. The (apparently unconditioned) phonetic alternation of *l* and *r* in cuneiform Hittite has been recognized for some time (cf. Kronasser, *EHS*, p. 66, to which add cuneiform Luwian *adduwalahit*- and hieroglyphic Luwian *atuwara*-). Apparently the stem of *kureššar*/*kuleššar* ("femininity") has no direct relationship to the "Hittite" term for "woman" which lies behind the SAL/MUNUS sign when it is not preceded by NÍG, for in such cases its phonetic complements indicate an *n*-stem noun. Cf. *HWb*, pp. 290–91. The man's headgear is *kupaḫi*- (Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 59) possibly the source of Hebrew כִּבְעָ. See the writer's remark in *JNES*, 23, p. 67, n. 17, where *ḫ* is a printer's error for *ḫ*. T. H. Gaster first proposed the equation *kupaḫi*=כִּבְעָ in the 1930's.

³⁴ KBo II 9 i 25–30.

A similar phraseology can be found in the self-maledictory loyalty oaths taken by the Hittite soldiers:

They bring the garment of a woman,³⁵ a distaff,³⁶ and a mirror;³⁷ they break an arrow and you speak to them as follows: "Are not these (you see here) the fine garments³⁸ of a woman? We have them (here) for (the ceremony of taking) the oath. Therefore, whoever breaks these oaths and plots evil against the king, queen, and princes, let these oaths change him from a man into a woman! Let them change his troops into women, let them dress them in the fashion of women and put on their heads the *kureššar* headdress! Let them break the bows, arrows, (and) weapons in their hands and let them put in their hands distaff and mirror!"³⁹

The OT furnishes us with two allusions to this type of practice in ancient Israel. The first is contained in a curse, which is uttered by none other than King David.⁴⁰ When Joab had almost irretrievably wrecked David's chances for securing the allegiance of the northern tribes by his treacherous and brutal assassination of Abner, David was prevented by circumstances from taking overt punitive measures.⁴¹ So he resorted to the next best course of action: he cursed Joab and his male descendants, dooming them (among other fates) to being those who "hold the spindle" (מַחֲזִיק בַּפִּשְׁלָה, II Sam 3 29), i. e., to the loss of their masculine attributes and powers.

The second example is more problematic. Yet its relevance to our subject should be apparent when it is viewed against the background of the Hittite rituals and Ugaritic mythological texts discussed above. In the deuteronomic laws there is a short passage the exact import of which has been often discussed but never completely settled.⁴² It is Deut 22 5, which reads: לֹא יִהְיֶה כְּלִי־נָכָר עַל־אִשָּׁה וְלֹא־יִלְבָּשׁ נָכָר שְׂמֹלֶת אִשָּׁה כִּי לֹא־יִהְיֶה כְּלִי־נָכָר עַל־אִשָּׁה אֵלָּה תוֹעֵבָת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ כָּל־עֲשֵׂה אֵלָּה ("the implement of a man shall not be borne by a woman, nor shall a man clothe himself in the attire of a woman, for whoever does this is an abomination to Yahweh your God"). The כְּלִי־נָכָר in this context is certainly not a garment, but rather an implement or weapon.⁴³ Hebrew כְּלִי is the semantic counterpart of Akkadian *unūtu* in such expressions as *unūt ili* ("implement of the deity," i. e., divine symbol),⁴⁴ *unūt paḥāri* ("implement of the potter,"

³⁵ TÚG.NÍG.MUNUS.

³⁶ GIŠ^hulali-.

³⁷ GIŠ^hueša-.

³⁸ ŠA MUNUS TÚG.NÍG.LÁM.MEŠ.

³⁹ KBo VI 34 obv ii 42 ff. and transl. in *ANET*, p. 354.

⁴⁰ II Sam 3 28–29.

⁴¹ Later, when circumstances permitted, he instructed his son to execute Joab (I Kings 2 5 ff.).

⁴² S. R. Driver, *Deut.* (*ICC*), pp. 250–51; R. Smith, *OTJC*², p. 365; *IntB*, 2, p. 464.

⁴³ Driver, *loc. cit.*; Gesenius-Buhl, *HHAT*¹⁷, p. 348.

⁴⁴ Written *ú-nu-ut* DINGIR-*lim* in KUB XXXVIII 1 rev iv 6, 13.

i. e., tool of his profession),⁴⁵ or *unūt awīli* ("implement of a man," i. e., tool or weapon characteristically borne by men). The *קל"יִנְבָר* is in all likelihood a reference to the bow. No woman should carry a bow, since — as Aqhat reminds us — "the bow is for heroes."⁴⁶

Conversely, this verse prohibits a man from clothing himself as a woman. In the afore-mentioned Hittite rituals the TŪG.NÍG.MUNUS ("feminine attire") includes not only the characteristic garments of the female (her TŪG^{kureššar} and full-length body veil),⁴⁷ but her spindle and mirror as well.⁴⁸ In the Marash stela inscribed with hieroglyphic Luwian we can observe two women, holding mirror and spindle.⁴⁹ And in the Karatepe inscription Asitawanda gives us the impression that in times of domestic security a well-dressed woman might even have a spindle in her hand as she took a stroll, just as a well-dressed American woman fifty years ago would carry a parasol. "But in my days even a woman could take a stroll with only a spindle in hand, because of the grace of Baal and the (other) gods."⁵⁰

But there is still one very important question left unanswered: why in the world would an ancient man or woman wish to wear the attire or symbols of the opposite sex? Several answers are possible. (1) Some kind of sexual perversion could be in view, such as homosexuality. This certainly is *תוֹעֵבָה* in the OT.⁵¹ But there are more direct ways for referring to this practice, which are, in fact, employed elsewhere in the OT.⁵² (2) Or this passage could be alluding to an ancient cult practice, whereby worshipers dressed in the garb of the opposite sex venerated a deity considered to be bisexual. This was the view of Robertson Smith, which has found favor in certain circles to this present day.⁵³ The difficulty with this view is that Smith's evidence for the existence of such a cult was taken from the literature of the hellenistic era. Such a view would be more credible if we could marshal support from texts of the late second millennium B.C.⁵⁴ But in default of such evidence

⁴⁵ Written *ú-nu-ut* BAḤĀR (KUB II 2 rev iv 10) or *ú-nu-ut* LŪ.BAḤĀR (KUB XI 28 obv iii 11–12, 20).

⁴⁶ *ANET*, p. 152.

⁴⁷ See n. 33 above.

⁴⁸ KBo VI 34 obv ii 42.

⁴⁹ *ANEP*, no. 631.

⁵⁰ Donner and Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, sel. 26, text A, II 6–7 (pp. 5, 37, 41).

⁵¹ Lev 18 22.

⁵² See Lev 18 22 also.

⁵³ See n. 42 above.

⁵⁴ It is true that some additional observations along this line can now be added. Servius observed the worship of the bearded Astarte on Cyprus and the perambulations of the Galli, eunuch priests of Cybele, soliciting the populace to unholy rites. We now know from Akkadian texts (see *CAD*, Z, p. 126) that Ishtar had a beard like that

we can only regard the interpretation as interesting and somewhat plausible, but hardly demonstrable. On the other hand, we have cited evidence above which confirms the existence in the late second millennium B.C. of ritual and curse forms which utilize the external symbols of masculinity and femininity to maintain, restore, or eradicate the sexual potency of oneself or one's enemy. In order for such procedures to be effective it would have been necessary for the client to serve as a kind of living dressmaker's dummy upon whom the practitioner could interchange the symbols which, accompanied by the proper spells, would effect the desired result. The biblical prohibition is characteristically elliptical and makes no mention of motive, but simply describes the outward motions of the practice. Such behavior, entailing as it did an appeal to the powers of fertility (even if in the minds of some, Yahweh was the source of these powers), was bound to be considered תועבה by the pious and the orthodox. Indeed, there is much to be said for von Rad's view that Yahwism even in its premonarchic forms was already opposed to all kinds of magic *per se*, since these were designed to influence the Deity "automatically."⁵⁵ As an invasion of Yahweh's personal liberties and sovereign actions, then, such a magical ritual was properly termed תועבה.

of the god Ashur. It is clear also from the Yazilikaya reliefs that her Hurro-Hittite counterpart Shaushga was bisexual (Goetze, *Corolla Linguistica*, p. 51). Other texts (*CAD*, Z, p. 117, s.v. *zikrūtu*) show that Ishtar danced the whirl like a man, and that she had the power to turn a man into a woman in order to teach the people religious fear. On statues dedicated to NINNI+NITA ("male Ishtar?") at Mari a male symbol accompanies her ideogram (cf. A. Parrot, *Mission archeologique de Mari I, Le Temple d'Ishtar*, pp. 68-74). Further textual evidence for the goddess Anat acting as a male and clad in garments both male and female can be found in J. Wilson's citation of Papyrus Chester Beatty VII, verso i, 8-9 (*apud ANET*, p. 250, n. 18): "Anath, the goddess, the victorious, a woman acting (as) a man, clad as a male and girt as a female." Yet even this new evidence is still too slim to support Smith's interpretation of Deut 22 5.

⁵⁵ G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, pp. 34-35.



Ugaritic pwt: A Term from the Early Canaanite Dyeing Industry

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Jul. - Sep., 1967, Vol. 87, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1967), pp. 300-303

Published by: American Oriental Society

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/597725>

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more striking is the fact that even a word for which there are several *Shōgakuhen* characters may be represented by an entirely different character today. I give below an example of one such word,

together with one for which the modern character is found in *Shinsen Jikyō*.

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kasugai "clamp"
konoshiro "Chatoessus
punctatus"

Ueda
糸, 鋲
魚冬

Shinsen Jikyō
鋲, 鋲
鋲, 製, 魚祭, 魚冬

Glossary

a. 新撰字鏡
b. 昌住
c. 小學篇
d. 王義
e. 王義之

f. 煮, 金, 耳金, 赤金, 平所
g. 志自久戸
h. 立金
i. 己万志
j. 0f 立鬼

Ugaritic pwt: A Term from the Early Canaanite Dyeing Industry

The Ugaritic noun *pwt* has attracted attention during recent years because of its possible bearing on the question of the origins of the ethnic terms "Punic" and "Phoenician."¹ In published texts

the term is found only in *PRU* II, text 138 (= *UT* 1106:10) and *PRU* V, text 66 (= *UT* 2051:6). The first text records allocations of clothing and the second the "desiderata of a guild" (the *yšhm*).² In both texts *pwt* is found in the company of terms for materials of the dyeing industry: linen (*pttm*),³ blue-purple (*iqni*),⁴ glaze (*spsg*),⁵

* It gives me great pleasure to express my indebtedness here to Professors William W. Hallo of Yale University and W. von Soden of Münster for the general guidance and specific information which they generously contributed to this short study. They are not to be held accountable for every viewpoint proposed herein, for the author has taken the liberty to disagree with his counselors at certain points.

¹ Aside from the purely lexical observations of Virolleaud (*PRU* III, p. 137), Gordon (*UT*, p. 467, entry no. 467 no. 2031), and Aistleitner (*WUS*, p. 254), the term has been subjected to study by M. Astour in *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden, 1965), p. 146. Astour proposes that *pwt* via the gentilic form *pāni* is the source of both Latin *Punicus* and Greek Φοινίξ and Φοινίκες. [Cf. also *JNES* 24 (1965) 348 f. Ed.]

² *UT*, p. 274 and 282-3.

³ On the signification "linen" rather than "flax" for *pttm* see Dietrich & Loretz, *WdO* III (1966), 224 f.

⁴ On the signification "dark, blue purple" (vs. *phm* "bright, red purple") for *iqni* see *WdO* III (1966), 220, 227 f., 231.

⁵ Not much can be added to the many observations on *spsg* (Ginsberg, *BASOR* 98, 21 ff.; Albright, *BASOR* 98, 24; Goetze, *JCS* 1, 1947, 311-15), including the latest ones by E. M. Good (*JBL* 77, 1958, 72-4), M. Lee (*UT*, p. 543), and W. W. Hallo (*BiOr* 20, 1963, 140, n. 66). The term has been restored in the passage from the royal

and "stones of the dyer" (*abn šrp*).⁶ For this reason and because a cognate (*fuwwatu(n)* "dyer's madder") is available in Arabic, the *UT* glossary now defines *pwt* as "red, purple dye(?)." ⁷ The *Wörterbuch* of Aistleitner-Eissfeldt, on the other hand, adopts Virolleaud's suggested rendering "bracelet."⁸

As an occurrence of *pwt* outside of the Ugaritic texts, *UT* (following Virolleaud) lists *pu-a-ti* in EA 14 I 74, II 27, 28. EA 14 is a list of presents from Amenophis IV to the Kassite ruler Burra-buriaš II. A number of the gifts are provided with "native" (i.e., non-Babylonian or "western") appellatives, which could be either Egyptian, West Semitic, or possibly Hurrian.⁹ The term *pu-a-ti* (or *bu-a-ti*) is applied in the first two occurrences (II 27 and 28) to objects whose description is largely obscured by the lacuna in the text. In column I, line 74, however, it is clearly attached to *šemīr qāti ša hūrāši tamlū* "a hand-bracelet trimmed/edged with gold."¹⁰ In short,

funerary ritual published by H. Otten (*Heth. Totenrituale*, Berlin: 1958, p. 32, line 32; pp. 58-9, line 7, and compare therewith VII 37: 10-11, in all of which passages *zapzagai* is placed on the scales of a balance). One should not conclude that the term is Indo-European simply because it occurs frequently in Hittite texts. Friedrich (*HWb*, 260) calls it a "Wanderwort." The same term also occurs in Akkadian texts as *zabgū* (*CADZ*, 8) and *zabzabgū* (*CADZ*, 10) and possibly survives in Arabic *sifsiqatu(n)* (cited in *UT*, p. 451). The formation of the word is not Indo-European in appearance (Kronasser, *EHS*, I, 114:4 and 117:4). If it designated a mineral substance mined in Anatolia or the rocky areas of North Syria, the name probably antedates the arrival of the Indo-Europeans and may even be Hattic or Hurrian. The semantic range of this term is broad. In Hittite texts it can refer to a mineral substance (twice bearing the NA₄ determinative: Bo 862 obv. 9, cited in Sommer & Ehelolf, *Papanikri*, II, 361, and IBoT III 148 rev. iii 9) listed with gold, silver, and precious stones, or to objects coated with this substance (XXIX 1 obv. ii 14; cf. *ANET*, 357, where it is translated "glassware"; note also Otten, *Totenrituale*, 32). The OT occurrence (Prov. 26:23) indicates a white glaze which coats an earthen vessel.

⁶ The correct Akkadian cognate to *šrp* in this expression is *šarāpu* B "to dye, steep" rather than *šarāpu* A "to refine (metals)" (*CADŠ*, 102-5).

⁷ Page 467, entry no. 2031.

⁸ Page 254, entry no. 2208.

⁹ Ranke (apud Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, p. 1549) classifies *bu-a-ti* as Egyptian, as does T. O. Lambdin, *Orientalia* NS 22, 364; *CADB*, 298a.

¹⁰ Transliteration: *ḤAR ŠU^u ša GUŠKIN tam-lu*. On the meaning of Sumerian *HAR* see W. W. Hallo, *BiOr* 20 (1963), 138.

this passage should only be cited as extra-Ugaritic evidence for *pwt* if one is persuaded that *pwt* in Ugaritic texts is "bracelet," but not if one believes that it is rather a term for a dye or colored paste.

The elimination of EA 14 leaves only Arabic *fuwwatu(n)* and the Hebrew PN *Puwwa* (with the ethnicon *ha-Pûnî*) as clear examples of early Semitic cognates to Ugaritic *pwt*.¹¹ Attested from a later period is the Hebrew noun *pû'ā* "dyer's madder."¹² But there is yet one more possible second millennium cuneiform term which is to be connected with Ugaritic *pwt*, not to be sure as a cognate, but as a loan.

The Boğazköy text KBo I 42 has been classified by Landsberger with those vocabularies which form a part of the lexical series Izi Bogh., Tablet A.¹³ Schuster has shown¹⁴ that the sequence of Sumerian entries in the IZI = *išātu* series is governed by the acrophonic principle. The entries consisting of simple DA occupy lines 31-38 (*CADI* 10d sub *idu*; the Akkad. column contains *i-du*, *ṭe₄-ḫu*, *iš-tu*, and four additional entries in the lacuna). Line 39, whose Sumerian column contains the reduplicated DA.DA, begins the section of compound Sumerograms of which DA is the initial component. Lines 44 and 45 contain the last of the compound entries in DA (DA.RĪ.AN.ŠĪ). Von Soden prefers to read these four signs as DA.RĪ *il₂* "darium-sacrifice of the deity" (see *AHw*, 164, 607-8 sub *dariu* I and *maqqu*). The *CAD* (following Landsberger), on the contrary, interprets DA.RĪ.AN.ŠĪ as a variant of DA.RĪ.AN.ŠUB "to be careless, neglectful (of duty)" (*CADE*, 48 sub *egū*). It reads the signs *me-ku-ú* of line 44 as *mēkū* "inactive, negligent (man)" (*CADE*, 48; *AHw*, 643a; *MSL* IV, 125). In line 45 the Akkadian rendering is written *pa-da-nu* (see *pa-ta-nu* in 49). This the *CAD* reads as *bā-ṭa-lu* "to be idle, inactive" (*CADB*, 174-6; *AHw*, 116b). The spelling of *baṭālu* with *nu* is an error which may have arisen during an earlier period when the final sign in the nom. sg., if written with the *lum* sign (Deimel/Labat #565), could have been read as *lum* or *nūm*. When one

¹¹ M. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, 146.

¹² R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Anc. Technology*, IV, 100, 106, 143 (n. 30).

¹³ H. G. Güterbock apud E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, entry 561. For the interpretation of the Sumerian and (original) Akkadian readings of KBo I 42, I am largely indebted to Prof. Hallo.

¹⁴ H. S. Schuster, *ZA* 44 (1938), 267.

considers the Hittite column at this point, the conclusion is well nigh inescapable that the Hittite scribe misunderstood the forerunner. In *me-ku-ú* he probably saw *meqqû* (*AHw*, 607-8) "sacrifice" and rendered it with *šippanduwar* "to make an offering, libate." In the Akkadian *pa-da/ta-nu*, which he may well have read as *pa-da/ta-lu*!, he probably saw the verb *patālu* "to twist"¹⁵ and rendered it with Hittite *malkiyawar* "to twist, spin." Beginning at line 44 the Mesopotamian forerunner inserts a section of entries with Sumerian ŠE.BE.DA. This violates the acrophonic principle governing the IZI = *išātu* series, and must be explained on another principle, that of allied meaning. ŠE.BE.DA like DĀ.RĪ.AN.ŠĪ conveys the idea of idleness (and perhaps negligence). The entries in the Akkadian column should be interpreted from this point of view. *Egû* (*e-gu*₅, line 47) was not intended by the forerunner to represent *egû* "antimony paste" (*CADE*, 47d-48a), much less *ekû/ikû* (*CADI*, 69; unit of surface measure), which Ungnad correctly perceived to have been the Hittite scribal editor's understanding (*OLU* 1923, col. 572; cited by Goetze, *Tunnawi*, 94), but rather the verb *egû* "to be careless, negligent" (*CADE*, 8-49). *Bedû* (*bé-du-ú*, line 48) was not intended by the forerunner to represent *pedû* "to release, send away," as possibly misunderstood by the Hittite editor (= Hitt. *pišgatallaš*; see *Tunnawi*, 95 and n. 377), nor even *petû* "to open (the grain on the threshing floor)," as proposed by Goetze (*Tunnawi*, 95), but rather the verb *bedû/beṭû*, which von Soden (*AHw*, 117d) refrains from translating, and which the *CAD* defines as "to cheat(?)" (*CADB*, 215a sub *beṭû*). The passage in VAB VI, 266:23 (at the close of an OB letter) reads: *lā tebeṭṭi iššūrātīm šūbilaššu*, "do not delay(??)! Have him bring the birds to me!" The meaning "to delay" is proposed (quite tentatively) on the basis that one expects warnings against delay at the end of such letters. That there are other terms for "to delay" does not rule out the attribution of such a meaning to *beṭû*. Furthermore, a possible cognate to *beṭû* exists in Arabic *baṭu'a* "to tarry, linger, delay, daily." If this interpretation is correct, it places *beṭû* squarely in the same general semantic range as the verb *egû* and *baṭālu* discussed above. One cannot be sure that the Sumerian column of line 50 con-

tained ŠE.BE.DA. If so, then *ap-pu-tù* may have been intended by the forerunner as *apputtu*, a term frequently used at the end of letters for somewhat the same purpose as the verbal expressions *lā tebeṭṭi* and *lā teggi* (see *AHw*, 60d). In the synonym list published and discussed by von Soden in *ZA* 43, pages 243, 273 f. *apputtu* = *nāpultu* "reply (requested)" and *lā teggi* "do not be negligent!" Thus the signs in the Akkadian column of line 50 were not intended by the forerunner to be read as *abbuttu* (the hairstyle; *CADA*, 48-50; *AHw*, 5d; so Goetze in *Tunnawi*, 95) nor even (as was probably the interpretation of the Hittite editor) *ṭub-bu-tù* (= Hitt. *la-az-z[i-iš]* "good"; see Otten, *AfO* 16, 70). The proposed *ṭubbūtu* "goodness(?)" although probably close enough to satisfy the Hittite editor, cannot be satisfactorily connected with the verb *ṭābum* "to be good" in any of its derivative formations. Accordingly, it can hardly have been the intended reading of the forerunner.

The only Akkadian entry in these lines at first glance resists this interpretation of ŠE.BE.DA is *ši-in-du* (line 46), for to my knowledge no Akkadian word exists which phonetically resembles *šindu* and conveys the notion of idleness, carelessness, or delay. The shape of the sign read in in *ši-in-du* is, however, a rare form at Boğazköy (see Forrer, *BoTU* I, sign no. 120 and Friedrich, *HKL*, II, no. 283, neither of whom attest this shape). Though within this very same tablet (and even in the Hittite column) there is a convincing example of this shape for *in*: *hi-in-ga-ni-ya-wa-[ar]* in obv. iii 13c, we may therefore reconstruct the original entry as *ši-i'-ṭù* "to neglect, sin."^{15a}

It seems clear enough that the Hittite editor had no understanding of the Sumerian column at all and could only supply approximate Hittite translations of what he regarded as the Akkadian words represented by the somewhat ambiguous orthography of the Akkadian column. In *me-ku-ú* (line 44) he saw *meqqû* ("an offering"; = *šippanduwar*). In *pa-da/ta-nu* (lines 45, 49) he saw *patālu* "to twist" (= *malkiyawar*). In *e-ku* (line 47) he saw *ikû* (the unit of surface measure) and rendered it *IKU-aš*. In *bé-ṭù-ú* (line 48) he saw *pēdû*

¹⁵ Bezold, *Babyl.-assyrisches Glossar*, 231b; compare the root **ptl* in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Ethiopic, etc.

^{15a} Cf. nu-še-bi-da = *la i-še-et*, OECT 6:23:15 f., quoted Deimel, *ŠL* 2:367:123c; *le-qu-u še-tu-ut-ni*, Gössmann, *Era-Epos* I 77 (p. 95 as restored from Lambert, *AfO* 18:397 [Rm. 2:477]).

"he who releases, frees" and rendered it with *pišgatallaš* ("he who sends away"). And in *ap-pu-tù* (line 50) he apparently saw *ṭub-bu-tù* and rendered it *lazziš* ("good"). The Akkadian entry of line 46 he read as *šindu* and connected with the *šindu* best known to him, the noun which (according to information generously contributed to me by Prof. von Soden) derives ultimately from the root **wšm*. This *šimtu* (later *šindu*) denotes a colored paint, salve, or paste (usually gold-colored),¹⁶ and often (especially in Neo- and Late-Babylonian documents)¹⁷ a brand or ownership-mark. From this latter meaning is derived the late verb *šamātu* "to designate with a mark."¹⁸ It is probable that, when the Hittite editor entered *pu-wa-at-ti-iš* in the right-hand column, he was thinking of this *šindu*, which denoted a colored paint or paste. *Puwattiš* is not attested elsewhere in published texts.

But is *puwattiš* a native Hittite word, which was loaned into Ugaritic as *pwt*, or is it a Semitic word borrowed by the Hittites to denote a colored paste which they had become familiar with from the Semites? The presence of *fuwwatu(n)* in Arabic and the PN *Puwwa* in Hebrew incline one to the view that the term is native Semitic. In the light of other names applied by the ancients to madder, Semitic **puwwatu* could have meant "the red (one)"¹⁹ or simply "the root."²⁰ If *puwattiš* is Hittite, it might be connected etymologically with the primary verb *puwai-* "to crush(?)."²¹ Related to the verb *puwai-* are the Luwian iterative verb *puššai-*, as well as the reduplicated *pupušša-*²² and the noun *pupulli-* "crushed, tram-

pled down ruins."²³ It is not likely that the *putiš* which occurs in HT 3 obv. 4; VII 29 obv. 14; and XXXV 142 rev. iv 14, and which designates a small unit of dry measure employed for salt, is related.²⁴ The term *puwattiš*, if it is a native Hittite word, might then denote that which is crushed or ground, i. e., "powder, salve, paste."

In summary, we have attempted to demonstrate: (1) that Ugaritic *pwt* in both of its occurrences (*UT* 1106:10 and 2051:5) designates a substance useful to persons (the *yšm*?) engaged in dyeing or tanning; (2) that the El Amarna word (probably Egyptian) *b/pu-a-ti* should not be connected with *pwt* unless one is convinced that the latter also designates a "bracelet"; and (3) that another linguistic relative of *pwt*, "Hittite" *puwattiš*, not only resembles it phonetically but was apparently used by the Hittite editor of IziBogh. A to render what he understood as Akkad. *šindu* "(colored) paste." The evidence of IziBogh. A does not warrant in itself the determination of the specific color of the paste. If *pwt/puwattiš* is red or red-purple, we can determine this only on the basis of the Semitic cognates. We have intentionally left open the question of the direction of the loan, since, although a suitable Hittite etymology of *puwattiš* is readily at hand in *puwai-*, one would certainly expect the loan to follow the opposite direction *a priori* in view of the acknowledged Canaanite superiority over the other peoples of the East Mediterranean in the technique of dyeing.

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¹⁶ The information on which much of the discussion of *šindu/šimtu* is based was generously supplied to me by Prof. von Soden.

¹⁷ E. Ebeling, *Glossar zu den neubabylonischen Briefen*, pp. 229 (sub *šindu*) and 227 (sub *šamātu*).

¹⁸ See Ebeling, p. 227, and R. Labat, *Manuel*, 323b.

¹⁹ R. J. Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 143, n. 30.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

²¹ Goetze, *JCS* 1, 1947, 316 ff.; Güterbock, *Or* NS 25, 123 ff.

²² *HWb* Erg. 2 (1961), 21 citing Laroche, *RHA* f. 63 (1958), 107. See also N. van Brock, *RHA* f. 75 (159, n. 9). The *-šša-* may be the Luwian iterative again.

²³ To the only occurrence of *pupulli* heretofore (Hittite law 173) may now be added with plausibility the broken lexical text passage KBo I 42 obv. iii 6: GÜ. BAL = *te-lu* = URU-*aš* p[u-pu-ul-ti]. Regardless of the Mesopotamian forerunner's intended meaning of *te-lu* (normalized *tēlū*, *telū*, or *tellu*?), the Hittite editor apparently understood the entry as *tellu/tillu* "city ruins, tell." Hence, he rendered it in Hittite as "of a city the ruins."

²⁴ HT 3 obv. 4 has now been read by Rosenkranz (*ZANF* 23, 238) as *kut?-pu-te-iš* and connected with Akkad. *kutpā*. For my objections to this see my review of Friedrich's third supplementary fascicle to *HWb* in *JAOS* 87.3, pp. 353-357 (below).



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Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Dec., 1967, Vol. 86, No. 4 (Dec., 1967), pp. 385-401

Published by: The Society of Biblical Literature

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3262793>

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SECOND MILLENNIUM ANTECEDENTS TO THE HEBREW 'ŌḂ

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IN 1961 Professor Maurice Veyra first called to the attention of the scholarly world the existence of extrabiblical parallels in Hittite and Assyrian to the ritual pit called the **בֹּרַי** in the OT.¹ He explained that the ritual pit appearing in Hittite texts under the names *a-a-pí*, *ḫat-teššar*, *AŠRU* (literally, "place"), *TÚL*, and *BÜR(U)* served the purpose of providing a means of presenting sacrifices to the chthonic deities, who are known in these texts by the name of *karuileš šiuneš* or *kattereš šiuneš* ("former deities" and "infernal deities" respectively). He further adduced evidence for the existence of similar pits in early Roman,² Greek,³ Assyrian,⁴ and Sumerian⁵ religion. The terms employed to designate these pits in the various languages are by no means all cognate to one another, but Veyra was able to show that a large degree of probability exists for deriving the Sumerian, Assyrian, Hittite, Ugaritic, and Hebrew terms from a common source.⁶ The chart below illustrates the similarity in sound shared by these various terms:

Sumerian	<i>ab(.lâl),</i> ⁷
Hittite	<i>a-a-bi,</i> ⁸
Ugaritic	<i>'eb,</i> ⁹
Assyrian	<i>abu,</i> ¹⁰
Hebrew	<i>'ôḂ (בֹּרַי).</i> ¹¹

¹ "Les noms du 'mundus' en hittite et en assyrien et la pythonisse d'Endor," *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, fasc. 69 (1961), pp. 47-55.

² The Roman *mundus* was such a pit, an official installation in Rome near the Comitia. See Veyra, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

³ Primarily the passage from *Odyssey* XI (see text 8), although reference is made by Veyra (*ibid.*) to Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*.

⁴ Veyra, *op. cit.*, p. 48; cf. *RA*, 51, pp. 100 f.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexicon*, II, p. 326, sign entry 128:2.

⁸ J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (abbrev.: *HWb*), p. 26.

⁹ C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (abbrev.: *UT*), p. 358, entry 165; J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (abbrev.: *WUS*), pp. 2 (entry 8) and 20 (entry 188).

¹⁰ W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (abbrev.: *AHW*), p. 62 supplemented by Veyra, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (abbrev.: *BDB*), p. 15.

The present essay aims at supplementing Vieyra's study in the following areas: (1) exploring the possible explanations of the phonetic shapes assumed by this common vocable, (2) utilizing all of the relevant Hittite texts to outline the complete *modus operandi* for the *a-a-bi*, (3) and attempting to show how Vieyra's suggested interpretation of Hebrew **אֵב** harmonizes with the OT usages.

Before one can posit any theory as to the manner in which the hypothetical common source word for the five technical terms listed above developed phonetically into each of the target languages one must seek to be positive as to the exact pronunciation of these five words themselves. In particular, the Hittite and Ugaritic terms require some comment. The difficulty posed by the Hittite spellings is the pronunciation required by the writing with initial double *a* (i. e., *a-a-*). There are three current phonetic interpretations of the cuneiform spelling *a-a*: (1) Friedrich in his *HWb*¹² "normalizes" these forms with *ā* (i. e., long *a*); (2) Landsberger reads them as *a'a*;¹³ and Goetze¹⁴ and von Soden¹⁵ read them as *ay* or *ayy(a/i/u)*. Friedrich's interpretation is the least acceptable, although unfortunately most Hittitologists (perhaps hypnotized by the *HWb*) tend to follow his example in transcribing Hittite words with *a-a*. This interpretation fits neither Hittite nor Hurrian phonology which cannot be shown to have possessed a consistent means of marking vowel length orthographically. No attempt has ever been made to justify this interpretation of the *a-a* spellings by an appeal to Akkadian texts. I would not presume to criticize Landsberger's interpretation of the Assyriological evidence for *a-a*, but it has always seemed to me that the use of these spellings in Hittite texts cannot be understood as indicating glottal catch (aleph). No one has ever demonstrated that Hittite possessed a glottal catch phoneme, but the *y* phoneme is universally recognized. The normalization **ay(a)bi*, then, seems preferable to either **ābi* or **a'abi*. An additional advantage to this normalization will be seen next, as we consider the Ugaritic form.

The Ugaritic term which contains a linguistic counterpart to Hittite-Hurrian **ay(a)bi* is transcribed *ilib* in the *Ugaritic Textbook* of C. H. Gordon,¹⁶ although the first and third signs of the word could equally well be transcribed 'e, since this sign can represent glottal catch followed by either the *i* or *e* vowel. Gordon does not discuss the matter of whether short *i* at Ugarit was ever pronounced *e*, but he does acknowledge that

¹² Page 26.

¹³ B. Landsberger, "Einige unerkannt gebliebene oder verkannte Nomina des Akkadischen," *Die Welt des Orients*, 3 (1964), p. 48, n. 4.

¹⁴ *JAOS*, 74 (1954), p. 187, and *JCS*, 18 (1964), p. 96, n. 33.

¹⁵ See the list of examples from von Soden's *AHW* and *GAG* assembled by Landsberger in *Die Welt des Orients*, 3 (1964), p. 48, n. 4.

¹⁶ See above in n. 9.

the *i*-containing aleph sign “can also imply the inherent vowels *e* . . and *ê* (reduced from **ay*).”¹⁷ We could, therefore, just as well transliterate *ilib* as *’il’êb*. It would thus be possible to understand the second part of this word as deriving from **ayb(i)*. As for the meaning of *ilib*, *UT* remarks as follows on *skn ilib*: “designates a religious stela of some sort.”¹⁸ The term *ilib* also occurs as a god’s name (*UT* 17:14; 2004:5). The following passage from the Aqhat Tale is fundamental for the interpretation of *ilib*.

UT: 2 Aqht I:26–29 (= *Corpus* 19 I:26–29):

<i>wykn . bnh bbt</i>	“(So) shall there be his son in the house,
<i>šrš . bqrb (27) hklh</i>	a scion in the midst of his palace
<i>nšb . skn . ilibh</i>	who erects the stela(e) of his <i>ilib</i> ,
<i>bqdš (28) ztr . ʿmh .</i>	in the holy place the <i>ztr</i> of his ancestor(s),
<i>larš . mššu . qtrh</i>	who from the ground causes his <i>qtr</i> to go forth,
(29) <i>lʿpr . dmr . atrh</i>	from the earth the <i>dmr</i> of his ‘place.’ ”

It is not my purpose here to attempt a thorough exegesis of this passage. But a few details might be noted. First, the *ilib* itself is not necessarily a stela or a “memorial monument.”¹⁹ It is the *skn* which is erected (*nšb*). This *skn* is then described (or further defined) as the “*skn* of his *ilib*.” The above arrangement of lines must be retained against that proposed by Aistleitner-Eissfeldt in *WUS*^{1,20} since only this arrangement allows the majority of the lines in the larger context to consist of three members each. Thus (contra *WUS*) *ztr ʿmh* is parallel to either *skn ilibh* or *ilibh* by itself, but not to *mššu qtrh*. Neither *UT* nor *WUS* propose a semitic cognate for *ztr*. Taking my clue from Vieyra, I would understand *ilib* (or **il’eb*) as “spirit of/from the pit.” The term **aybi* (from **aybi*) designates the ritual pit or *mundus* (to use the Latin term) from which by means of sacrifices and spells one may elicit the spirit of the deceased. The use of *il* to designate the spirit of the deceased recalls the words of the witch of En-dor in I Sam 28 13–14 when describing the apparition of Samuel emerging from the ritual pit: “I see gods (or ‘a god’?) coming up out of the ground . . . an old man is coming up, and he

¹⁷ *UT*, p. 19.

¹⁸ See above in n. 9.

¹⁹ C. H. Gordon, *Evidence for the Minoan Language*, p. 7, commenting on Eteo-cypriote *i-li-po-ti*.

²⁰ Page 98, entry 890.

is wrapped in a robe." Some of the Hittite evidence is relevant here as well, since the word *a-a-bi* occurs sometimes with the DINGIR determinative, even when the impersonal pit itself is in view (KUB VII 41++ iii 13, 16, 17; KUB X 63 obv i 18, 20, 24; etc.). In addition a deity is known from KUB VII 41++ obv i 52, ii 19, and iii 33 whose name is spelled ^d*A-a-bi*. That he is actually a deity (personal) is shown by his grouping with others of the *karuileš šiuneš*, such as Aduntarri, Zulki, Erbitiga, Nara, Napšara, Minki, and Amunki, all of whom are Hurrian deities. It is thus likely that Ay(a)bi is Hurrian.

If Ugaritic *'ēb* is from original **'ayb(i)*, then we must rule out Albright's thesis that original **ibu* (preserved in Ugaritic, according to him) became **ubu* in South Canaanite under the influence of the labial, and that this latter vocalization explains Hebrew **אֹב**.²¹ The *o*-vowel in the Hebrew noun must be considered as a reflex of either a pure long *a*-vowel affected by the "Canaanite shift" or accented short *a* following the Phoenician pattern.²² It will be best to approach the vocalization of **אֹב** through the neo-Assyrian form *abu*. For a discussion of the meaning of Assyrian *abu* see Vieyra.²³ Goetze has formulated the rule that Akkadian words with initial *aya* in Old Babylonian become first *ya* and then *a* in neo-Assyrian.²⁴ Hence Old Babylonian **ayabum* became first **yabu* and then *abu* during the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods. It would be impossible to derive Hebrew **אֹב** from the neo-Assyrian *abu*, however, since the Hebrew (rather South Canaanite) term together with its frequent associate **אֵלִי** is obviously quite old and goes back at least to the time of Saul. The term has to be old enough in Canaanite for there to have occurred the semantic development from "pit" to "spirit of the pit" to "spirit" by the end of the biblical period. The usage of such pits for necromancy (if the Aqhat passage is correctly interpreted) is at home on Canaanite soil since the late second millennium B. C. The term **אֹב** must, therefore, have derived from the Hurrians themselves, who were present in enclaves of non-Semitic peoples on South Palestinian soil since the Amarna Age. Among these people the original term **ayabi* had undergone the change to **'ôb*. But the stages and rationale behind the transformation are not clear.

Vieyra assumes that the prototype of all the other terms was the Sumerian *ab*.²⁵ But if we accept Goetze's normalization of Hittite *a-a-bi* as **ay(a)bi* and my understanding of Ugaritic *ib* as **'ēb* (from **'ayb*), the derivation of a Hurrian **ay(a)bi* from Sumerian *ab* is phonetically

²¹ *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 203, n. 31.

²² Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, pp. 21 and 26.

²³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

²⁴ *JAOS*, 74 (1954), p. 187, and *JCS*, 18 (1964), p. 96, n. 33. See also von Soden, *GAG*, par. 22d, and Gelb, *Bibl. Orientalis*, 12 (1955), p. 102a.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

impossible. In this writer's opinion, it is better either to consider all of these terms as *ursprachliches Residuum* of an old substratum term (I borrow this terminology and viewpoint from Professor Landsberger), or (if one of the extant languages *must* be the source) to accept the Hurrian **ay(a)bi* as the prototype. In my opinion it is even doubtful that the Sumerian *ab* belongs in the same group with the other four terms.

In order to facilitate the second phase of this essay — namely, the elucidation of the *modus operandi* for the **ay(a)bi* pits, as described in Hittite, Greek, Assyrian, and Hebrew texts (the Ugaritic has already been discussed above) — I should like to transliterate and translate the selection of source texts and mark them with numbers. This will enable me to refer to them later with utmost brevity and convenience.

1. Hittite: KUB XXIX 4 rev iv 31–36 (Relocation of Black Goddess; cf. Kronasser, *Die Umsiedlung der schwarzen Gottheit*, pp. 30–31).

[ma-a]ḫ-ḫa-an-ma I-NA UD.2.KAM ne-ku-uz me-ḫur MUL-aš wa-at-ku-zi
32 [nu]EN.SISKUR.SISKUR I-NA É.DINGIRLIM ú-iz-zi na-aš DINGIRLIM-ni
UŠ-KE-EN

[nu I]T-TI DINGIRLIM GIBIL ku-e 2 GÍRHÁ i-ya-an nu a-pé-e
34 [da-a]n-zi nu A-NA DINGIRLIM PA-NI GIŠBANŠUR a-a-pí pád-da-an-zi
[na-aš-t]a 1 UDU A-NA DINGIRLIM e-nu-ma-aš-ši-ya ši-pa-an-da-an-zi

36 [na-a]n-kán ḫa-at-te-eš-ni kat-ta-an-da ḫa-ad-da-an-zi.

“When at night on the second day (of the ritual) a star leaps, the offerer comes to the temple and bows to the deity. The two daggers which were made along with the (statue of) the new deity they take, and (with them) dig a pit for the deity in front of the table. They offer one sheep to the deity for *enumaššiya* and slaughter it down in the pit.”

2. Hittite: KUB XXIX 4 ii 3–8, 19–21 (Relocation of Black Goddess; *ibid.*, pp. 14–17).

1 TUGku-re-eš-šar BABBAR 1 tar-pa-la-aš SÍG ZA.GÍN 1 tar-pa-la-aš SÍG SAš
1 SÍGki-iš-re-eš
4 1-NU-TIM KUŠNÍG.BÀR 4.TA.ÁM ŠA-PU-Ū 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠÀBA 1 GÍN
KÙ.BABBAR

a-a-pí-ti-i 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR-ma ga-an-ga-ta-at-ti 10 NINDA.SIGMEŠ
6 2 NINDAmu-u-la-ti-iš ŠA ½ UP-NI 1 GA.KIN.AG TUR Ì.DÜG.GA te-pu
½ UP-NI Ì.GIŠ ½ UP-NI LÁL 1½ UP-NI Ì.NUN 1 wa-ak-šur GEŠTIN
8 1 SILÁ na-as-ma MÁŠ.TUR ki-i A-NA SISKUR.SISKUR zu-ur-ki-ya-aš da-an-zi
19 . . . na-aš-ta UŠSANGA DINGIRLAM a-a-pí-ta-az
20 ša-ra-a 7-ŠU ḫu-ít-ti-ya-az-zi EN.SISKUR.SISKUR-ya-kán
7-ŠU ša-ra-a ḫu-ít-ti-ya-az-zi.

(Among the items to be used in the *zurkiyaš* offering are:) “one white, woman’s headdress; one substitute-image (*tarpašaš*) of blue wool; one substitute-image of red wool; one woolen glove(?); one set of curtains of quadruple thickness; two shekels of silver, of which one is for the *a-a-bi* and one is for the *gangatatti*; ten thin loaves; two *mulatiš*-loaves of ½ *upnu* (of flour); one small cheese; a little perfumed oil; ½ *upnu* of vegetable oil; ½ *upnu* of honey; 1½ *upnu*’s of butter; one *wakšur* of wine; and either a lamb or a kid: these (items) they take for the *zurkiyaš*-offering. . .

(There follows a further listing of items for the *ambašši*-offering, and this ends the activities of the second day of the ritual. When my translation resumes, the activities of the third morning are in progress.) The priest draws up the deity seven times from the *a-a-bi*, and the offerer (likewise) draws him up seven times."

3. Hittite: KUB XV 31 obv ii 6–26 (Ritual for drawing paths for ^dMAḪ^{MEŠ} and ^dGulšeš).

- 6 *na-aš-ta ma-aḫ-ḫa-an IŠ-TU 9 KASKAL aš-ša-nu-an-zi nu GIŠBANŠURHÁ[ša-r]a-a*
kar-pa-an-zi na-at a-a-pí-ya-aš pé-e-di pé-e-da-an-zi
 8 *a-a-pí-ya-aš-ma ut-tar DINGIRMEŠ-ú ki-iš-ša-an a-ri-ya-u-en 7 a-a-pí*
ki-nu-wa-an-zi NU.SIG5 nu 8 a-a-pí-ma ki-nu-an-zi SIG5
 10 *nu 9 a-a-pí ki-nu-an-zi na-aš ma-aḫ-ḫa-an a-a-pí-ya-as pé-e-di*
ar-nu-an-zi nu DINGIRMEŠ kat-ta ti-en-zi nu 9 a-a-pí ki-nu-an-zi
 12 *ḫu-u-da-a-ak-ma-za GIŠAL da-a-i nu pád-da-a-i EGIR-ŠU-MA-za*
TU-DI-IT-TUM da-a-i a-pé-e-ez pád-da-a-i EGIR-ŠU-MA-za
 14 *GIŠša-at-ta GIŠMAR GIŠḫu-u-up-pa-ra-an-na da-a-i nu-kán ša-ra-a*
li-i-ša-iz-zi nam-ma-kán GEŠTIN 1 an-da ši-pa-an-ti NINDA.SIGMEŠ-ma
 16 *pár-ši-ya na-at a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da ke-e-ez ke-e-ez-zi-ya da-a-i*
nam-ma-kán GIŠKUN5 KÜ.BABBAR TU-DI-IT-TUM KÜ.BABBAR ḫa-an-te-ez-zi
 18 *a-a-pí-ti an-da da-a-i A-NA TU-DI-TUM-ma-kán ḫa-zi-zi KÜ.BABBAR*
an-da da-a-i na-at-kán ḫa-an-te-ez-zi a-a-pí-ti kat-ta-an-ta
 20 *ga-an-ki ḫa-zi-zi-ta-as-ma-as-sa-an ap-pé-ez-zi-az*
TÚGku-re-eš-šar ḫa-ma-an-kán nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an zi-in-na-i nu 1 MUŠEN
 22 *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš e-nu-ma-aš-ši-ya ú-kal-zi-ya ši-pa-an-ti*
nu 9 a-a-pí iš-ḫar-nu-ma-iz-zi nam-ma A-NA 9 a-a-pí-ti 9[MUŠENHÁ]
 24 *1 SILÁ-ya am-ba-aš-ši ke-el-di-ya-ya 9 MUŠEN 1 SILÁ-ya ši-pa-a[n-ti]*
nu ku-e-da-ni-ya A-NA 1 a-a-pí-ti 1 MUŠEN da-a-i SILÁ-ma-kán m[ar-kán-zi]
 26 *na-an ḫa-an-te-ez-zi a-a-pí-ti ti-an-zi.*

"When they furnish (it) with nine paths, they pick up the tables and take them to the place of the *a-a-bi*. This is the way in which we determined the matter (place and number?) of the *a-a-bi* by the gods; they open up seven *a-a-bi*'s. (Result:) Unfavorable. Then eight *a-a-bi*'s they open up. (Result:) Favorable. Then nine *a-a-bi*'s they open up. When they bring them (images) to the place of the *a-a-bi*, they put the gods down and open up the nine *a-a-bi*'s. Quickly he takes a hoe and digs. Next he takes a pectoral ornament and digs with that. Then he takes a *šatta*, a shovel, and a *hupparaš*-vessel, and gathers up (the loose soil?). Then he pours in(to the pits) wine and oil. He breaks up "thin loaves" and puts them around (the mouths of the pits) on this side and that side. Next he puts down into the first *a-a-bi* a silver ladder and a silver pectoral ornament. On the pectoral he places a silver ear and hangs them down into the first *a-a-bi*. To the last of the ears a *kureššar*-headdress is bound. When he finishes, he offers one bird to all for *enumašši* and *úkalzi*. He smears the nine *a-a-bi*'s with blood. Then for the nine *a-a-bi*'s (there are) nine birds and one lamb. For *ambašši* and *keldi* he offers nine birds and one lamb. He puts one bird in each *a-a-bi*, but the lamb they cut up and put it at the first *a-a-bi*."

4. KBo XI 14 iii 28–31 (Incantation by Ḫantitaššu of Ḫurma).

- 28 *nu ka-ru-ú-li-uš DINGIRMEŠ-uš ú-wa-te [. . .]*
a-pí-ya da-an-zi nu-za pa-a-an-du a-pí-[ti? an-da]
 30 *ták-na-aš dUTU-un mu-ki-iš-kán-du nu-w[a- . . .]*
ku-ú DÛ-nu-un na-an-mu DINGIRMEŠ EG[IR-pa la-a-an-du].

"They bring (the images of) the former deities. They take . . . there. Let them go,

and in the *a-a-bi* let them plead with the sun-god of the netherworld, so that whatever (crime) I have done let the gods forgive it to me!"

5. Hittite: KUB X 63 obv i 17–28 (Winter Festival for Ishtar of Niniveh).

- na-aš-ta* SAL.LUGAL *pa-ra-a ú-iz-zi nu-kán* LÚHAL
 18 *A-NA PA-NI* dX *ma-ra-ap-ši da-a-pí-in ki-nu-zi*
na-aš-ta LÚAZU 1 UDU *A-NA* dX *ma-ra-ap-ši ši-pa-an-ti*
 20 *na-an-kán* LÚAZU *A-NA* *da-a-pí kat-ta-an-da ha-ad-da-a-i*
nu-kán e-eš-ḥar A-NA GAL *kat-ta tar-na-i na-at ták-ni-i*
 22 *A-NA PA-NI* dX *ma-ra-ap-ši da-a-i nu-kán* LÚAZU
A-NA UZUNÍG.GIG UZUŠA *ḥu-u-i-šu nu te-pu ku-er-zi*
 24 *e-eš-ḥar-ra te-pu da-a-i na-at-kán da-a-pí*
kat-ta-an-da da-a-i
 26 *na-aš-ta da-a-pí-in še-er IŠ-TU NINDA.KUR₄.RA iš-ta(!)-a-pí*
 UDU-*ma-kán pa-ra-a pé-e-da-an-zi*
 28 *na-an-kán LÚMEŠ EN.DINGIRMEŠ mar-kán-zi.*

"The queen comes forth, and the diviner opens up an *a-a-bi* before the storm-god of *marapši*. The diviner offers one sheep to the storm-god of *marapši*, and down inside the *a-a-bi* the diviner slaughters it. The blood he lets flow down into a goblet, which he places on the ground before the storm-god of *marapši*. Next the diviner (proceeds) to raw intestines and heart (of the sacrifice) and cuts off a little. He takes also a little blood and puts it down into the *a-a-bi*. Then at the top he stops up the *a-a-bi* with 'thick bread.' The sheep they carry forth, and the temple servants cut it up."

6. Hittite: KUB VII 41++ , iii 13–20 (Incantation of Infernal Deities; cf. Otten, *ZANF* 20, 1961, p. 130 f.).

- nu PA-NI* dA.NUN.NA.GE₄ *da-a-pí-in GÍR-it ki-nu-zi*
 14 *nu-kán* Ī LĀL GEŠTIN *wa-al-ḥi mar-nu-wa-an-na a-pí* (var.: *da-a-pí*)
an-da BAL-an-ti 1 GÍN KÚ.BABBAR-*ya-kán an-da pé-eš-ši-ya-zi*
 16 1 GAD ŠA QA-TI *da-a-i nu-kán da-a-pí-in še-er*
ka-ri-ya-zi nu kiš-an me-ma-i da-a-pí pár-ku-nu-ma-aš-za
 18 GÍŠŠÚ.A *da-a nu-za-kán IGI-an-da pár-ku-nu-ma-aš KINTI a-ú*
na-aš-ta KÚ.BABBAR GUŠKIN AN.BAR AN.NA NA₄ZA.GÌN NA₄GUG
 20 *IŠ-TU GÍŠNUNUZ ZI.BA.NA IGI-an-da a-ú.*

"Then before the Anunnaki-deities he opens up an *a-a-bi* with a knife and pours down into the *a-a-bi* oil, honey, wine, *walḥi*-drink, and *marnuwan*-drink. He throws in one shekel of silver. Then he takes a napkin (cloth for the hands) and covers up the *a-a-bi* on top, and says: 'Oh *A-a-bi*! Take the stool of purification and examine the materials for the purification (-ritual)! Among these (materials) examine the silver, gold, iron, tin, lapis lazuli, and carnelian by means of (your) balance!'"

7. Hittite: KBo II 9 iv 9–16 (Ritual and Prayer to Ishtar of Niniveh).

- na-a[š-ta]* LÚHAL *an-da a-pé-e-pát INIMMEŠ me-ma-i na-an-kán GIM-an*
 10 *IŠ-TU NINDA.K[UR₄.R]A? SUD-an-zi nam-ma-kán DUGKU-KU <-UB> A-ni-it*
šu-un-na-an-zi
nam-ma a-pé-da-ni pé-di a-pé-e (corr.: *a-a-pí*!) *ki-nu-wa-an-zi na-aš LÚHAL*
 DINGIRLUM

- 12 *IŠ-TU NINDA*ḥa-az-zi-zi-ta-za a-pí-ya ša-ra-a 7-ŠU SUD-an-zi
 nu me-ma-a-i ma-a-an LUGAL SAL.LUGAL DUMUMEŠ LUGAL-ya [k]u-iš-ki
 ku-it-ki
- 14 i-ya-an ḥar-zi na-aš ḥa-ri-i-ya-an ḥar-zi na-aš-kán ka-a-ša
 ták-na-az SUD-an-na-ah-hi nam-ma-aš-{}{aš}{}-ša-an ud-da-a-ar pa-ra-a
- 16 *QA-TAM-MA* me-ma-i nu a-pé-da-ni-pát pé-di kiš-an i-ya-an-zi.

"The diviner says these words, and when they draw him/her/it with 'thick bread,' they fill a *kukūbu*-vessel with water besides. Then in that place they open up a-a-bi's (text has misspelling: a-pé-e), and the diviner with ear-shaped loaves (alt. reading: with four ears) draws the deity up from thence seven times, and says: 'If anyone — king, queen (or) princes — has done something and has buried it, I am now drawing it forth from the ground.' Then he proceeds to speak other words of similar import, and they perform this action just so in that place."

8. Greek: *Odyssey* XI, 23–29, 34–43. (Reproducing of Greek text dispensed with because of the easy general access to editions of the *Odyssey* by the readers.)

"Here Perimedes and Eurylochus held the victims, while I drew my sharp sword from beside my thigh and dug a pit (*βόθρος*) of a cubit's length this way and that, and around it I poured a libation to all the dead, first with honeyed milk (*μελίκρητον*), thereafter with sweet wine (*ῥόδῳς οἶνος*), and in the third place with water, and I sprinkled thereon white barley meal (*ἄλφιτα λευκά*). And I earnestly entreated the powerless heads of the dead, vowing that . . . But when with vows and prayers I had made supplication to the tribes of the dead (*ἔθνεα νεκρῶν*), I took the sheep and cut their throats over the pit, and the dark blood ran forth. Then there gathered from out of Erebus the spirits of those that are dead . . . These came thronging in crowds about the pit from every side, with a wondrous cry (*θεσπεσίῃ ἰαχῇ*); and pale fear seized me."

9. Assyrian: KAR 146; Assyrian royal ritual. (Only a synopsis of the proceedings is given here with citations of selected passages.)

After making food offerings to the Lisikutu deities and singing a hymn, the *nāru*-singer takes the food offerings and drops them into the *abu* (*ina libbi abi ikarrar*) and pours on top of them honey, oil, beer, and wine. Then the *nāru* fills up the pit (*LÚnāru abu umalla*), and the king places his foot on top of the pit. Next the king bends down and kisses the ground and then goes straight back to the palace. In a variant version the king goes from the pit to the *akītu*-house. On the basis of this and parallel passages Vieyra has shown that von Soden's *AHW* entries on *apu* must be revised to: *apu* (I) "Röhricht," and *apu* (II) "Loch."

10. Sumerian Epic of Gilgamesh = Akkadian version, Tabl. XII, 83–84.

"Scarcely had he (Nergal) opened a hole (Sum. *ab-lāl-kur-ri*; Akkad. *taqqab erseti*) in the earth, when the spirit (Akkad. *utukku*) of Enkidu, like a wind-puff (Akkad. *zaqīqi*), issued forth from the netherworld."

Based upon a comparison of the above ten passages concerning the use of ritual pits for the consultation with or veneration of the dead and the infernal deities, along with the passages from the Hebrew Bible, the following remarks can be made as to the *modus operandi*:

1) The time of day at which the sacrifices were made and the spirits sought was a matter of considerable importance. Guthrie²⁶ tells us that a principal difference between the sacrifices made to the Olympian deities and the *chthonioi* was that, whereas the former were performed in the bright morning sunshine, the latter were carried out in the dead of night. In text 1 the protocol specifies that the ritual is to be performed at night (*nekuz meḥur*) under the stars. We are not informed in the Gilgamesh Epic passage (text 10) what time of day it was when Nergal opened up the pit for the return of Enkidu's spirit. In text 2 the priest draws the deity up from the *a-a-bi* early in the morning (*man lukkatta*, ii 14) before the sun had arisen sufficiently to disperse the grey. In text 8 there is no particular need to specify time of day, since Odysseus is in the land of the sun's setting, where flows Oceanus which bounds the earth and where is the land of the Cimmerians, wrapt in mist and cloud. "Never does the bright sun look down on them with its rays either when it mounts the starry heaven or when it turns again to earth from heaven, but baneful night is spread over wretched mortals" (*Odyssey* XI, 15-19). In this regard it is quite significant that in I Sam 28 s we are told that Saul came to the witch of En-dor *at night* (לַיְלָה). It must be admitted that the king did not wish to be conspicuous at the time of this visit. But the disguise which he wore would have been sufficient by itself, had not other factors favored a nocturnal interview. These factors are the very same which dictated that the Hittite rituals be carried out at night and that the *chthonioi* be worshiped at night.

2) Before the sacrificial pit could be dug, the practitioner had to determine a propitious spot. The value of propitious spots for acts of sorcery is, of course, clearly demonstrated (in the OT) in the Balaam narrative. Like the Mesopotamian *bārû* or Sumerian *azu*, Balaam had to make several attempts to find just the right location in order to insure the success of his execrations (Num 23 1-2, 13-14, 27-30). The Hittite text 3 informs us that even the number of the pits to be dug was subject to the will of the deity as manifested in oracle responses. In some cases, if the spirit sought were a deceased mortal, the most propitious location for the orifice might be near his grave. The tombs at Ras Shamra which have small tunnels connecting the crypts with the surface of the ground are probably related to this practice.²⁷ Unrelated to sacrificial pits but manifesting the same general concept is the hole in the lid of the gigantic sarcophagus of Ashurnasirpal II.²⁸ Similar "vents" were a standard feature in the funerary monuments of the Egyptian pharaohs. One cannot be positive, but there is a possibility that the *bqdš* of 2 Aqht I:27 ("who erects the stela(e) of his *ilib*, in the holy place the *ztr* of his

²⁶ *The Greeks and their Gods*, p. 222.

²⁷ Vieyra, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

²⁸ E. A. Speiser in *ANET*, p. 98, n. 253.

ancestor") refers to the sacred spot selected for the ritual pit, hard by a stela to mark it. And just as Vieyra has shown that the Akkadogram *ašru* ("place") indicates the ritual pit in Hittite texts on occasion, so in the same Aqhat text the revenant (called *qtr* "smokelike apparition" in line 28) is designated as *dmr atrh* ("guardian of his 'place'") in line 29. This spirit is evoked "from the ground" (*larš* and *l'pr*). No mention is made in I Samuel 28 of the witch's activities in locating a proper spot for the pit. But since, as we shall soon see, the pits were sealed with sacrificial loaves or covered with cloths so that they might subsequently be re-used, it is not impossible that this woman lived in the vicinity of such a propitious spot which she had many an occasion to use for her clients. This might also explain the expression *בַּעֲלַת־אֹב* ("she who possesses an *אֹב*") as the designation of the woman — that is, she alone had access to this particular sacred orifice.

3) The pit could be dug with any appropriate instrument. In Hittite text 3 a hoe (Sumerian *al*) is employed first, followed by the use of a silver pectoral ornament (Akkadian *tudittum*). In text 1, on the other hand, two specially prepared daggers (Sumerian *gir*) are used to open the pit, as is also the case in text 6. The latter instances are of interest, because it is a sword which Odysseus uses to open his pit in text 8. The use of the sword, the daggers, and the pectoral as variants to the more prosaic hoe must point to some underlying symbolism which was important to the effectiveness of the rite. Just what that symbolism is (though transparent to the ancients themselves) must remain a matter of opinion and debate to the modern scholar.

4) Into the pit food offerings were lowered. An alternative (occasionally supplementary) practice was to arrange them around the mouth of the pit(s), presumably to entice the spirits up out of the pit to eat and drink. Such enticements were not always confined in their usage to the *chthonioi* or even to the pits. In Hittite rituals of the evocatio type (for a representative ritual in English translation see A. Goetze in *ANET*, pp. 351–53) such appealing foodstuffs were a principal means of luring the absent gods back to their temples. In the *Odyssey* passage (text 8) in addition to the libations of honeyed milk, wine, and water, a food offering of white barley meal was poured into the pit. The Hittite passages show that loaves of bread, cheese, butter, and GA.KU7 (usually translated "sweet milk," but perhaps "honeyed milk" like the *Odyssey*'s *μελικρητον* in this context) accompanied the libations. The late Assyrian ritual mentions "food offerings" but fails to specify the items.

5) There is general unanimity among the various texts as to the liquids used for libation. The *Odyssey* mentions honeyed milk, sweet wine, and water. The Hittite texts include sweet (honeyed?) milk, oil, honey, wine, and beer. The Assyrian ritual names honey, beer, and wine. The conspicuous place which honey occupies in these rituals is note-

worthy, especially since in early Hebrew ritual law worshipers were forbidden to mix honey with any of their offerings to God (Lev 2 11).

6) But the beverage which these denizens of the underworld craved more than honey, beer, and wine was the blood of sacrificial animals. In the *Odyssey* the offerer cuts the sheep's throat over the pit and allows the blood to run down into the hole. The Hittite rituals reveal three distinct ways of handling the blood. In text 1 it is allowed to run down into the pit in the same fashion as the *Odyssey* passage (text 8). The sacrificial animal is actually lowered into the pit before its throat is cut.²⁹ In text 3 the blood is spattered around the mouth of the pit(s) in order to lure the spirits up. In text 5 the clearest evidence appears that the blood was regarded as a beverage for the deity or spirit. The sheep's blood is drained off into a goblet which is then placed on the ground before the cult image of the deity. In *Odyssey* XI, 48–50, 140–154 we are informed that all of the spirits in Hades which come up from the pits wish to drink of the sacrificial blood and that only when they have so drunk can they recognize the loved one who has solicited their appearance. Thus even Odysseus' own mother does not recognize him until she has drunk from the blood which he has with him. The OT passages concerned with נֶפֶשׁ do not make reference to the spirits drinking the blood of sacrifices, although this is not an unreasonable assumption.

7) Other gifts not intended as food were also lowered into the pit. Substitute images made of colored wool, women's headdress, woolen gloves, silver models of the human ear, silver pectoral ornaments, and even a shekel of lump silver are dropped or hung down into the pits. The choice of silver rather than gold, copper, tin, lead, or iron as the metal out of which gifts to the *chthonioi* are fashioned is evident in all of the texts. One can only suppose that popular superstition dictated this metal as the only proper one, just as in European superstition from a much later period a silver knife or a silver bullet were the only kinds effective in the slaying of werewolves and other monstrous creatures of popular fantasy.

8) The object of the ritual was to lure the spirit or deity up out of the pit. The Hittite rituals do not specify the exact reasons for bringing the deities up. The passage from the *Gilgamesh* Epic cited as text 10 is followed by the record of an interview between the spirit of Enkidu and the god Nergal. "They embraced and kissed each other. They exchanged counsel, sighing at each other: 'Tell me, my friend, tell me, my friend, tell me the order of the nether world which thou hast seen' " (*Gilgamesh*, Tabl. XII, 85–88; translation of Speiser in *ANET*, p. 98). It has long been believed in OT circles that the significance of the term

²⁹ Compare Guthrie's remarks about the sacrifices to the *chthonioi* in *The Greeks and their Gods*, p. 221.

יִדְעָנִי, if it does not refer to the skill or knowledge of the black arts manifested by the practitioner, refers to the knowledgeable spirits of the underworld. Certainly Saul's declared reason for seeking an interview with Samuel's ghost is information (I Sam 28 15). Several centuries later Isaiah mocked such practitioners in words which must have been proverbial among the prophets of God who had been attacking this unorthodox rite for over a century: "Should they consult the dead on behalf of the living?" (Isa 8 19). The prophets also (though in mocking tone) accurately reflect the use of ritual pits in the ground for bringing up the ghosts with words such as these: "Then deep from the earth you shall speak, from low in the dust your words shall come; your voice shall come from the ground like the voice of a ghost, and your speech shall whisper out of the dust" (Isa 29 4). Hittite text 2 makes it clear that both the practitioner and the client acted to bring the deity up. It is possible that in text 2 something very concrete is in view, namely, the hauling up of the cult statue from the pit, but it cannot be denied that such analogic forms were intended to solicit the presence of the living deity as well. The bait which was used to lure the deities or spirits up was the sacrificial blood and other food offerings. But other implements are also mentioned. In text 7 there is a slight problem in the reading of line 12. The deity is drawn up seven times with ^{NINDA}hazzizitaza. The form is an ablative of the noun hazzizi(ta)- which in turn is a loan into Hittite via Hurrian from Akkadian ḥasīsu "understanding; ear" (*CAD H*, p. 126; *AHw*, p. 330). On the basis of this passage (including lines 18 and 23 as well) both the *CAD* (sub ḥasistū with erroneous reference to KBo II 8 ii 12 and 13!) and the *AHw* (sub ḥasīsitū with omission of line 12) assume that an original Akkadian bread name has either been loaned via Hurrian into Hittite (*CAD*), or is used in Hittite texts as an Akkadogram (so apparently *AHw*). Yet (as E. Laroche has confided in me in personal correspondence) on the basis of this text alone there is reason to doubt the reading ^{NINDA}hazzizita(za) and to consider as equally plausible 4 ḥazzizita(za), since the GAR sign in cuneiform can be the numeral 4 as well as the NINDA determinative. Happily the existence of ^{NINDA}hazzizi(ta) no longer rests entirely upon this passage, since the publication of the building ritual KBo XV 24, where the following evidence is found: (1) ḥa-zi-zi ŠA NINDA i-ya-an, "ear(s) of bread (are) made" (iii 3), (2) 10 ^{NINDA}ḥa-zi-zi (with numeral before the NINDA sign!) is mentioned in iii 6, (3) 1 ^{NINDA}ḥa-zi-zi can be restored for iii 29, 32, and 35. In view of this confirmatory evidence, it is unnecessary any longer to doubt the reading ^{NINDA}hazzizita(za) in KBo II 9 iv 12, 18 and 23 (our passage). It appears then that ear-shaped loaves were used (text 7) to draw up the deity. The choice of an ear-shaped loaf is paralleled by the silver ear suspended from the pectoral ornament in text 3. Perhaps this symbolizes the willingness (eagerness)

of the offerer to hear from the deity or spirit and the desire of the offerer that the netherworld will hear his supplication. Compare the passage from the prayer to the sun goddess of the netherworld (KBo VII 28 i 11-13): "Incline your good eyes, lift up your thousand eyelids and gaze benevolently upon the king. Incline your ears and hear his good word(s)." Another quaint feature of one of the Hittite texts (3) is the mention of a silver ladder which was lowered into the pit. The size of the ladder is not stated, so that we do not know whether it is a mere model or a full-size ladder which was propped up against the wall of the pit to aid the deity in his ascent. The material (silver) perhaps favors the assumption that the ladder was only a model. Yet, as in the case of the model ears, it is the symbolism which is vital, and here there can certainly be no room for difference of opinion as to the meaning of the symbolism! As the ear communicates the desire of the offerer(s) for a "hearing" with the deity, so the ladder communicates an invitation to come up and out of the pit. This tantalizing bit of information provides a basis for a profitable comparison with the famous ladder which Jacob saw in his dream at Bethel (Gen 28 10-17). In this dream the patriarch saw a ladder (סִלָּם) set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven. "And behold, the angels of God were ascending and descending on it! And behold, the Lord stood above it" (Gen 28 12-13). When Jacob awoke from his sleep, he said, "Surely the Lord is in this place, and I did not know it. . . . How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God! This is the gate of heaven!" (Gen 28 16-17). Bethel was an awesome place, because (like the locations of the *a-a-bi*/אֵיב) it was one of the few spots known where intercommunication from one level of the three-storied cosmos to the others was possible. As deities might use a ladder to ascend from the netherworld to the surface of the earth, so might angels use a ladder to go back and forth from earth to heaven! We must not be misled by modern rationalistic considerations into discarding this ancient image for a ziggurat stairway, simply because it would be easier for angels to pass each other going up and down on a stairway than on a ladder! If this type of rationalization is pursued to its logical conclusion, there would be no need for a ladder or stairway at all! For why would angels need one? I stress this point, because the late Professor E. A. Speiser, a truly gifted Orientalist, argued for interpreting Genesis 28 in this fashion in his stimulating commentary on Genesis in the *Anchor Bible* (pp. 218-20), and has thus popularized this interpretation.³⁰ His

³⁰ Nor can Speiser's etymological analysis of Hebrew סִלָּם on p. 218 of *Genesis* as derived from the root סָלַל go unchallenged, even if this analysis is shared by *BDB*, p. 700b and Gesenius-Buhl, *HAT*, p. 545b. None of these older Hebrew dictionaries could be expected to know of the Akkadian cognate *simmiltu*, though Speiser might have been expected to. Since we are confronted with an obvious case of metathesis, but cannot with certainty say which form is the more primitive, it stands to reason that

interpretation, in my opinion, is invalid even if consideration is given only to the OT passage itself. The ziggurat stairways were used by priests ascending to the summit, where worship was carried out. The deities did not use them to descend to the ground level. On the other hand, the symbolism of text 3 makes it quite clear that the deity or deities invoked from the netherworld were intended to ascend via the ladder to the upper world.

9) When the deity or spirit finally appeared, what were its sensory manifestations? The *Odyssey* passage gives the distinct impression that the form was clearly anthropomorphic and recognizable to the living loved one. Odysseus recognizes his mother and his old friends when he sees them. The *Odyssey* passage also mentions "crowds" (οἱ πολλοί) and "nations" (ἔθνεα) of the dead which throng the sacrifices. In the Gilgamesh Epic (text 10) Enkidu's spirit is called a *zaqīqu* "a phantom, or gust of wind." The CAD rejects the translation "wind" for *zaqīqu* and points out that the term is always used of ghostly phenomena of a supernatural nature. The word accordingly denotes something very close to our modern Western image of a specter. The appearance of Samuel to the woman of En-dor was clearly a terrifying sight. When she first saw him, she emitted a shriek, And when Saul had succeeded in calming her and asked her to describe what she had seen, she said: "I see gods (perhaps 'a god' here) coming up out of the earth . . . An old man is coming up and he is wrapped in a robe" (I Sam 28 13–14). The returned spirit is able to communicate to the client, but in a voice which is both eerie and supernatural. Enkidu's first words are described as "sighing" (Akkadian *anāḫu*).³¹ The spirits which throng the pit of Odysseus utter a "supernatural cry" (θεσπεσίη ἰαχή). Isaiah describes their utterances by the Hebrew participle מְשַׁחֲמִים, which elsewhere is employed only for describing the sounds made by birds (8 19, 29 4).³² To judge from the prophet's words, the practitioners in Judah elicited sounds from the open pit itself, since he says, "Your voice shall come from the ground like the voice of a ghost, and your speech shall whisper out of the dust" (29 4). It seems that one of the standard features of cultic activity directed toward the dead was the whisper. Other Hittite rituals which belong to the *genre* of texts called *Totenrituale* ("funerary rituals") frequently mention the whispering of the priests (the verb is *ḫuštešk-*, on which see H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale*, p. 148 with references).

10) Finally, it was necessary after the spirit had returned to the netherworld to seal up the hole. Perhaps it was a precautionary measure to insure that the spirits might not be allowed to roam the upper world indiscriminately. In the Gilgamesh Epic, when Shamash at first is

we cannot be permitted to treat the *m*, which in the Hebrew form is final, as a formative element.

³¹ E. A. Speiser in *ANET*, p. 98, n. 255.

³² *BDB*, p. 861b.

reluctant to grant Ishtar's request to release the bull of heaven on Enkidu and Gilgamesh, the goddess threatens to "smash the doors of the netherworld and raise up the dead eating and alive, so that the dead will outnumber the living" (Tabl. VI, 96 ff.). All sorts of harmful forces from the netherworld might be released upon mankind if the points of exit were not properly guarded and sealed off. In a few Hittite texts we are given a glimpse of the netherworld as a place in which bronze cauldrons are set with lids of lead. Into these cauldrons are banished all sorts of evils which are then kept in by the lead lids.³³ What would be the plight of mankind if these evils were ever released from their underworld "Pandora's box"! In the neo-Assyrian ritual (text 9) the *nāru*-singer refills the pit, apparently with loose soil. In the Hittite text 5 the pit is sealed at the top with loaves of sacrificial bread, and in Hittite text 6 it is covered with a cloth, a fragile but apparently effective lid!

11) W. K. C. Guthrie³⁴ has assembled a short list of contrasts between the *modus operandi* for the worship of the *chthonioi* and that of the Olympians. It will be profitable for us to compare this material with what we have learned from these oriental texts. (1) "Name for the act of sacrifice: *θύειν* for the Olympians, *ἐναγίζειν* for the chthonians." There is no specialized term in Hittite texts for sacrifice to the *kattereš* *šiuueš* vs. the gods of heaven. Nor is this apparently the case in the Hebrew, Ugaritic, or Akkadian texts either. (2) "Method: animal killed with throat upward for Olympians, downward for chthonians (so that blood may most easily soak into the earth)." The Hittite texts make no overt mention of the position of the animal's throat, although (as we noted above) the animal itself was on occasions lowered into the pit before cutting its throat, so that the blood might flow into the ground. (3) "Type of altar: for Olympians the high-built *βωμός*, for the chthonians a low altar called *ἑσχαρά* (hearth), or else no altar at all, but the sacrifice performed into a pit or trench (*βόθρος*)." Here the parallel is most obvious, since the use of the *בִּיט*, *a-a-bi*, or *abu* is found throughout the Near East and Asia Minor. The high-built altar, used for astral deities was called the *בִּית* in Hebrew, *ištananaš* in Hittite, *manzāzu* in Akkadian. (4) "Choice of victim: (a) Colour — for Olympians white, for chthonians black. . . (b) Species. The ram is the usual offering to the chthonians, also the pig, which had particular associations with sacrifices of expiations and purification . . . The ox which was commonly offered to the Olympians was absent. It may be added that as well as animal victims 'bloodless offerings,' e. g. of honey or the fruits of the earth, were commonly made to the powers of the earth." As to color,

³³ First version of Telepinu Myth, A iv 15 ff. (*RHA* f. 77, pp. 96 f.), and Disappearance of *ḏMAḤ*, A ii 5 ff. (*RHA* f. 77, pp. 138 f.). A discussion of these two passages and their relevance to the correlation of Hittite *tarpiš* with Hebrew תַּרְפִּים will be found in (forthcoming) *JNES*, 27 (1968).

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 221 f.

the same distinction between white animals for astral deities and black ones for *chthonioi* is made rather consistently in the Hittite texts. Thus, when the Hurrian hero of the Hittite Appu myth wishes to take an offering to the sun god of heaven, he brings a "white lamb" (KUB XXIV 8+, i 38–40). When, on the other hand, in the ritual of Pupu-wanni (KUB VII 2+, i 19–21) the sacrificer wishes to appeal to the powers of the nether regions (*dankuiš daganzipaš*, line 23), he selects a time before sunrise (*lukkatta* ⁴UTU-uš-kan *nawi uizzi*, line 19) and assembles the following items for sacrifice and offering: "five loaves of sacrificial bread weighing a *tarnaš* each, vessels of beer, one black puppy, one black lamb, one black kid" (lines 20–21). Color specifications are absent from the ritual laws regarding lambs, kids, goats, sheep and oxen in the OT with the exception of the red heifer of Numbers 19. In the Mycenaean tablets offering lists reveal no color specifications for animal sacrifices, but do specific sex.³⁵ Even in the tablets discussed by Ventris and Chadwick in ch. 7 and not considered to be offering lists there is no apparent notation of color for the animals, although sex and other matters are clearly noted.³⁶ The distinction that female animals should be given to goddesses and male ones to gods does seem to be observed also in the Hittite offering lists and ritual texts. Thus in KUB XXIX 1 rev iii 22–23 when the builders have laid the foundation stones of the new palace, they sacrifice a bull to the storm god and a cow to the sun goddess of Arinna; and in KUB XXIX 7 rev 58 the animal sacrifice for the queen is a ewe, while that of the king is a bull. Because Israel's monotheism was male-oriented, the male animals were more valuable for sacrifice, even though any herdsman knows that it is easier to part with excess male animals than with the females, which are valuable for breeding. As to the species of the animal, Hittite texts reveal that, like the Greeks, the Hittites considered the pig to be an animal particularly appropriate as a sacrifice to the infernal powers.³⁷ In this category the Hittites also placed the dog.³⁸ We have already seen above that honey and the fruits of the earth were in fact also dropped into the ritual pits.

Guthrie also adds contrasts as to type of shrine, time of day, and the gesture in prayer, but we have already commented on these matters in the earlier parts of the study.

In summation, let me focus all of this collateral information upon the new understanding of the OT אֹיֵב. We are indebted to Vieyra for bringing to our attention the Hittite, Ugaritic, Assyrian, and Sumerian parallels to the Hebrew אֹיֵב. He sought to show that the אֹיֵב was (like the *a-a-bi*)

³⁵ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, ch. 9.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, ch. 7.

³⁷ E. von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer*, p. 77 with n. 80.

³⁸ *Ibid.*; also A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*², p. 164.

a ritual pit for communication with the netherworld. He also proposed that Hebrew אֹב, Ugaritic *ib*, Assyrian *abu*, and Hurro-Hittite *a-a-bi* were derived from Sumerian *ab*.³⁹ In the first point Vieyra acknowledges that he was anticipated by C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East*, pp. 88 f. But going beyond Gadd, Vieyra posits Hurro-Hittite *a-a-bi* as the intermediary link linguistically between Sumerian *ab* and Hebrew אֹב. We have sought here to add the following: (1) Bring to bear the objections of Goetze⁴⁰ to the normalization of *a-a-bi* as **ābi* and suggest the phonetic laws which might account for the passage of Hurro-Hittite *a-a-bi* (**ayabi*) into Ugaritic *ib* (**ēbu*), Assyrian *abu*, and Hebrew אֹב. (2) Assemble all of the relevant Hittite passages mentioning the *a-a-bi* together with the Greek, Ugaritic, Assyrian, and Sumerian, and utilize their information to reconstruct a collective *modus operandi* for these pits. It has not been my intention thereby to suggest that all of these elements of *modus* would have been present in any isolated instance, but only to show the entire range of possible actions which enter into the manipulations at the pits. It is my understanding that the אֹב was primarily a ritual hole in the ground dug to give infernal deities or spirits of the deceased access to the upper world for a brief interval of time. Officiating at such a pit would be a woman (or on occasions perhaps also a man) called the בַּעֲלַת-אֹב ("possessor of a pit"). She would be visited at night and under the proper conditions she would unseal such a pit and elicit the spirit(s) from it, perhaps using food offerings of the type employed in the Greek and Hittite sources. When the interview was completed, she would reseal the pit with loose soil, sacrificial loaves, or even a cloth. This would keep the spirits from gaining unsupervised access again to the upper world until she had occasion to visit the spot again with a client. In time the name which at first designated only the pit itself came to be applied to the spirits which issued from it, just as in the Hittite texts we see that a deity exists with the name ^d*A-a-bi*, and that the determinative for deity is sometimes written, even when no personal deity is in view. Thus the אֲבוֹת of the prophets are the spirits themselves, and can be paired with the יְדֻעִי. There is not likely to be any opportunity for archeological evidence to support this thesis, since such simple holes in the ground (most of them doubtless located outside the walls of the settlements!) would leave no appreciable traces. The word itself need not be of Hurrian origin, as indicated above. It may be an old substratum word whose ultimate linguistic affiliation is forever lost to us. What is reasonably certain, however, is that the evidence for similarity of function reinforces the approximate phonetic similarity in such a way as to assure us that Hebrew אֹב, Ugaritic *ib*, Hurro-Hittite *a-a-bi*, Assyrian *abu*, and possibly even Sumerian *ab*, are all variants of the same word.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁴⁰ See above in n. 24.

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Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 1968, Vol. 22, No. 2 (1968), pp. 34-45

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

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For Professor C. H. Gordon on the
occasion of his 60th birthday.
šüneš-ta huišwatar haddulatar
dalugauš-a wettuš piyandu

A HITTITE TEXT IN EPIC STYLE ABOUT MERCHANTS

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In 1963 Heinrich Otten published in *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, volume XII a fragmentary text (number 42) in the inventory of the seasons 1960 and 1961 assigned the number 35/s. According to Otten's *Vorwort to Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, volume XII the tablet was recovered from the debris of the earlier excavations. This new text was recognized by R. Werner to be a duplicate of another tablet published in hand copy of K. Balkan as text number 49 in the volume *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri* (abbreviated as ABoT).¹ The two texts, when combined, yield portions of nineteen lines of cuneiform Hittite from what Otten believes to have been a large epic narrative.² Because this type of text is relatively rare at Boğazköy³ and because it offers many interesting bits of information, it is being published here in transliteration with all textual variants. The main exemplar, which serves as the basis for the line count, is KBo XII 42. For the sake of brevity KBo XII 42 will be referred to in the remainder of this discussion as copy A. ABoT 49, which will be designated by the letter B, will be used to fill out the lacunae in A and to provide variant spellings in the apparatus.

1. Credit for recognizing ABoT 49 as the duplicate of KBo XII 42 is given to R. Werner on the second (un-numbered) page of the Inhaltsübersicht of *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, vol. 12.

2. *Ibid.* Otten does not claim that the ductus is old. On the basis of a photo of 35/s H. G. Güterbock has informed me that the text does not exhibit the kind of handwriting which he and Otten have been calling "old." And since a photo of ABoT 49 was not available to Prof. Güterbock or me, it is not possible solely on the basis of Balkan's hand copy for us to decide whether or not it has the old ductus.

3. For a survey of historical and quasi-historical literature among the Hittites see A. Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 136-155.

Transliteration of KBo XII 42 rev. col. III with
duplicate ABoT 49⁴

- 1 *a-pé-e-m[(a-ká)n (É-r)i? an?-da?].x-e[- . . .]*
2 *nam-ma x[ú⁶-(e)]-eš-wa-z[(a)]*

4. K. Balkan (ABoT, p. IX under no. 49) provisionally identified ABoT 49 as a protocol, and identified a fragment which joined ABoT 49, which he called "1160/c." This fragment he had found among the Boğazköy tablets in the Ankara museum which had been uncovered during the excavations between 1931 and 1939. At the time Balkan composed the foreword to ABoT (1945) these tablets, marked . . /a through . . /i, had still not been returned to Ankara from Niğde, whence they had been taken for safekeeping during the war years, so he remarked that this fragment was "z(ur) Z(eit) unzugänglich." For the inventory number "1160/c" Balkan was totally dependent upon his notes. When Otten was preparing his review of ABoT for BiOr VIII, he was able to check the real 1160/c from both Ehelolf's hand transliteration and a photo in Berlin. This 1160/c did not fit ABoT 49. Therefore what cannot be identified is the text meant by Balkan and quoted by him with the (obviously wrong) number "1160/c." This explanation of the circumstances surrounding the unidentifiable "1160/c" I owe to Professor Güterbock. The first four visible lines of ABoT 49 precede the first visible line of KBo XII 42 rev col III. Although the editorial "Rs." above the copy does not indicate column number, Otten's hatched vertical line on the lefthand margin is the convention for "broken on the vertical ruling line bordering the intercolumnium." Thus the preserved column must be the right-hand one. Since the sequence of inscribed columns is (1) obverse left, (2) obverse right, (3) reverse right, and (4) reverse left, the column preserved in 35/s must be column III, and therefore the beginning of the reverse. ABoT 49's columns are narrower than KBo XII 42's, so that the lines contain fewer words. It is probable that ABoT 49 preserves the left-hand column (col. I) of the obverse. Although ABoT 49's lines are shorter than KBo XII 42's and thus would require more lines to accommodate the same text, the reverse of the former was uninscribed, whereas the latter required both obverse and reverse (four columns in all) for the inscribing of its contents. Was ABoT 49's text a much more abbreviated one than KBo XII 42's? Or was KBo XII

3 LÚ.MEŠ DAM.GĀR.ĪI.A

URU Ū-[ra²-a² UR]^UZa-al-l[a-ra²]

4 ú-wa-ú-e-ni⁷ nu-wa i-ya-ta [t]a-me-e-t[a]⁸

5 pé-e ħar-ú-e-ni

42 a "Sammeltafel," which contained another short composition on the first portion of the obverse?

While neither KBo XII 42 nor ABoT 49 is inscribed with the old handwriting, certain features of their paleography should be noted here. Of the two ABoT 49 may be slightly older, for the *e* sign in ABoT 49 is drawn so that the left-hand vertical wedge does not cross the upper horizontal wedge. This is the shape which Friedrich draws second in his entry for *e* (§158) in HKL II 33. This drawing of *e* is the one employed in copy A (the earliest) of the Hittite laws (KBo VI 2 obv i 3, 7, etc.), whereas the form with two short horizontal wedges meeting (but not crossing) the left-hand vertical wedge is that which is commonly employed in the later copy C of the laws (KBo VI 5 ii 5, 6, iii 1, iv 4, 12, etc.). Both KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49 employ the older version of the DAM sign in LÚ.MEŠ DAM.GĀR. This shape of DAM is that which can be found in copies A (KBo VI 2) and B (KBo VI 3) of the laws and in the old Kantuzzili text (XXX 10 rev 12). One can contrast this drawing of the DAM sign in KBo XII 42 iii 3 with the shape of *dam* in *dam-me-el* in KBo VI 4 i 11, the late parallel series of laws. This late shape of DAM is found in the writings of LÚ DAM.GĀR in much later texts such as KBo X 12 i 11 (the Aziru treaty), XIII 1 iv 14-15 (treaty of Tudḫaliya IV with Šaušgamuwa of Amurru), and KBo XII 51 rev 2. Similarly the drawing of ANŠE in ABoT 49 exhibits the same old shape as is found in copy A of the laws, while KBo XII 42 has the shape corresponding to the drawings in copy B of the laws but not quite so developed as the drawing in the late parallel series of laws (KBo VI 4 iv 4). There are doubtless other characteristics of handwriting which would appear to the trained eye of a copyist who had before him the photos. But the few mentioned in the preceding lines suffice to indicate that, although neither KBo XII 42 nor ABoT 49 is an old copy, the latter is the older of the two. Other age criteria which relate to orthography (i.e., spellings) rather than paleography will be discussed in footnotes 5 through 11.

5. Restoration of *an-da* suggested by Professor Goetze on the basis of the preceding *kán*.

6. Restoration of *ú-e-eš-wa-za* is Professor Goetze's suggestion. Professor Güterbock had proposed *ku-i-e-eš-wa-za*. The latter restoration is less probable, since the verb *uwaweni* would have to be in the relative clause, and the main clause would have to be *nu-wa iyata tameta pe ħarweni*. Goetze points out the difficulty of *-za* with *uwa-*, but see XIV 1 obv 13 and 62, XXXIV 45 + KBo XVI 63, i 15.

7. ABoT 49 7 reads *ú-wa-u-e-ni*. The spelling of the first person plural verbal ending *-weni* as *-ú-e-ni* with the *ú* sign is employed elsewhere in KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49 only for verbal stems ending in a consonant: *ħar-ú-e-ni* (KBo XII 42 iii 5, 9, 14). Other verbs in these two tablets whose stems end in *a* utilize *u*: *ú-e-da-u-e-ni* (KBo

6 NAM.RA.ĪI.A-wa⁹ me-ek-ki ú-e-da-u-e-ni¹⁰

7 GUD.ĪI.A-wa UDU.ĪI.A ANŠE.KUR.RA.-
ĪI.A ANŠE.GĪR.NUN.NA.ĪI.A¹¹

8 [(ANŠ)]E.MEŠ¹² me-ek-ki na-an-ni-ya-u-e-ni

9 [h]al-ki-ya-aš-ša GEŠTIN.ĪI.A-aš¹³ me-ek-ki
pé-e [ħar-ú-e-ni]

XII 42 iii 6), *ú-e-ta-u-e[-ni]* (ABoT 49 8), *na-an-ni-ya-u-e-ni* (KBo XII 42 iii 8). Other spellings of *uwaweni* or *uwawen* do not employ *ú* in the ending: *ú-wa-u-en* (*Deeds of Šuppiluliuma*, frag. 28, E₃ iv 16; JCS 10 (1956) 87 and 98), *ú-wa-u-e-ni* (XXIII 72 obv 28; XXXIV 45 + KBo XVI 63, i 15; XXI 27 ii 3, 10). KBo XII 42's spelling (*ú-wa-ú-e-ni*) is consequently a rare spelling, but not demonstrably an archaism.

8. ABoT 49 7 has *ša(sic)-[me-e-ta]*. That this *ša* is not just this scribe's peculiar way of writing *ta* with only one inscribed vertical wedge is clear from line 8, which has the normal *ta*.

9. ABoT 49 8 has NAM.RA.ĪI.A-*ya* with substitution of *-ya* for the particle of direct discourse *-wa*. On the other hand ABoT 49 10 correctly includes a *-wa* in [ħal-ki-ya-aš-w]a GEŠTIN-aš, while KBo XII 42 iii 9 omits the particle and reads only [h]al-ki-ya-aš-ša GEŠTIN.ĪI.A-aš.

10. ABoT 49 8 has *ú-e-ta-u-e[-ni]*. The spellings of *uda-* ("to bring") as *weda-* or *wete-* do not seem to be particularly characteristic of Old Hittite. Of the examples which I have been able to assemble hastily, most seem to be on the contrary from the later periods: *ú-e-ta-an-te-eš* in the First Plague Prayer of Muršili (Kf 1, 168f.) 5:1; *ú-e-da-an-zi* in the Ritual of Puliša (KBo XV 1) obv i 10; *ú-e-da-iz-zi* and *ú-e-da-an-zi* in XXX 15 (*Totenrituale*, p. 68f.) obv 30-32.

11. ABoT 49 9 has ANŠE.GĪR.NUN.NA without the plural marker.

12. ABoT 49 9 has ANŠE.ĪI.A with a different plural marker. The writing ANŠE.MEŠ is rare, but not unique (IX 32 i 30). On the Hittite reading of ANŠE see Hoffner, *Or NS* 35 (1966) 398-9.

13. ABoT 49 10 has GEŠTIN-aš with no plural marker. The writing of "wine" with GEŠTIN.ĪI.A is very unusual. GEŠTIN.ĪI.A occurs in the Telepinu Proclamation, 2BoTU 23A i 71, with the phonetic complement *-uš* of the acc. pl. and probably meaning "grapes," in XXI 8 obv ii 9 in context with fields, crops, hence probably "vineyards" or "grapes," and in XXXIII 77 rev iv 4, a fragment of an incantation. KBo XII 42's spelling (GEŠTIN.ĪI.A) and pairing with *ħalki-* (*ħal-ke-e-eš* GEŠTIN.ĪI.A-eš-ša *ħar-ke-[-er]*) occur also in an Old Hittite fragment mentioning Alluamna (XXVI 77 obv i 5 and 8). The plural marker ĪI.A must be taken seriously ("grapes" rather than "wine") in XXVII 77 because of the phonetic complement *-eš* of the nom.-acc. pl. It seems likely that it is to be taken seriously here too, in which case the ending *-aš* on *ħalkiyaš* and GEŠTIN.ĪI.A-aš must be an acc. pl. ending. In connection with our attempt to date this text (i.e., KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49) linguistically, it should be pointed out here that acc. pl. in *-aš* is highly unusual for Old Hittite, but would suit a later date.

- 10 *a-aš-šu-u-ya-wa* KÛ.BABBAR GUŠKI[N]
NA₄.ZA.GÎN [NA₄.GUG¹⁴]
11 NA₄.KĀ.DINGIR.RA NA₄.DU₈.ŠŪ.A AN.-
BAR UR[UDU ZABAR¹⁵]
12 [A]N.NA.ĪI.A *ku-it ku-it im-ma* [Ū-NU-
TU₄¹⁶]
13 [š]a-ak-la-a-iš *nu-wa hu-u-m[a-an me-ek-ki¹⁷]*
14 [pē]-e *har-ú-e-ni*

15 [.]Ē-TIM-ya x[.]

16 (only traces of a few signs)

Translation

- 1 But they [in] the house(?)[.]
2 Furthermore [.]w[e(?)]
3 the merchants of U[ra] (and) Zall[ara,]
4 will come, and plenty and abundan[ce]
5 we will keep at hand.
6 We will bring many NAM.RA people;
7 cattle, sheep, horses, mules,
8 (and) asses in large numbers we will drive;
9 barley and grapes(?) in large amounts we will
keep at hand.
10 And valuables: silver, gol[d], lapis lazuli,
[carnelian,]
11 Babylonian stone, *dušû*-stone, iron, cop[per,
bronze,]
12 [t]in (items¹⁸) — whatever [commodity]
13 (is) the custom — al[l] in large amounts]
14 we will keep at hand.
15 [.] the house [.]

14. Restoration suggested by Professor Güterbock. Seems probable in view of the usual sequence of stone names in lists such as those studied in RHA 79 (1966) 172f. KBo XII 42 is transliterated but without restorations in RHA 79 (1966) 173.

15. Restoration based on the usual sequence of metal names in lists such as those studied in RHA 79 (1966) 172ff.

16. The noun which stood here must have been neuter in agreement with *kuit* *kuit imma*. *Aššu* "goods" has already been used in line 10 and would not likely have been repeated so soon here. An appropriate candidate for the restoration is the Akkadogram *unūtu*, which was also neuter, as demonstrated by XIII 2 ii 40-41: *našma-kan tamedaš DINGIR-LIM kuedani UNŪTU harkan n-at LŪ.MEŠ SANGA . . . appa iyandu* (note the neuter participle *harkan* and the enclitic pronoun *-at*). The word which stood in the break at the end of KBo XII 42 iii 12 must have denoted "commodity, ware, item." On *UNŪTU* and *aššu* see further von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer* 78 and Hoffner, JAOS 87 (1967) 183.

17. Restoration of *me-ek-ki* suggested by Professor Güterbock. Note that *mekki* appears before *pe harweni* also in line 9.

18. The translation "(items)" attempts to render the plural marker on AN.NA.ĪI.A.

Commentary¹⁹

3: LŪ.MEŠ DAM.GĀR (Akkad. *tamkārū*) "merchants." The Hittite reading of LŪ DAM.-GĀR is *unattallaš*, attested only in Hitt. Laws §5 in the form *ú-na-at-tal-la-an* (KBo VI 3 i 13; accus. sg.), where it seems to be identified by the *-pat* which is suffixed to it with the LŪ DAM.-GĀR of line 10. The etymology of the word *unattallaš* is obscure. The single writing of the *n* weakens the case for a derivation from the verb *unna-*, which the *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* of J. Friedrich defines as "to drive here, send here; to travel here, come here in haste."²⁰ The word has the appearance of a *nomen actoris* in *-talla-*.²¹ Although the phonetic spelling of the Hittite word for "merchant" occurs only in the copies of Hitt. Laws §5, the ideographic writing LŪ DAM.GĀR occurs quite frequently in Hittite texts.²² A useful review of most of the evidence was included by Otten in his 1959 study of Bo 181.²³

The earliest datable reference to merchants in a Hittite text is found in a Hittite fragment of the Epic of the King of Battle (Akkad. *šar tamhāri*), which was studied by Güterbock in the second half of his dissertation "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern" published in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 44 (1938), 45ff. This text had been transliterated earlier by E. Forrer as the first text in the second part of his two volume work *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* (Zweiter Band, 1926), page 1. The Akkadian version of this text was published in 1915 by Otto Schroeder as text number 193 in his *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna* (*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft XII, Seite 3). The text was subsequently studied by Weidner in 1922,²⁴ Albright,²⁵ and Güterbock.²⁶ Another El-Amarna tablet published in 1947 by C. H. Gordon may belong to the same text.²⁷ The merchants mentioned in this text are those of Sargon of Akkad. The second earliest reference to merchants in Hittite texts would be the passage from the laws

19. The italicized Arabic numerals which begin paragraphs in the body of the commentary refer to the lines of KBo XII 42.

20. HWb 234.

21. J. Friedrich, *Heth. Elementarbuch* 39, §46b.

22. To Otten, ZA 53 (1959) 182-3 add Werner, SBT 4 30-1, 38-9.

23. ZA 53 (1959) 182-3.

24. *Boghazköi-Studien* 6 57ff. 25. JSOR 7 1ff.

26. ZA 42 21ff. and 86ff. 27. Or NS 16 (1947) 13f.

cited above. If KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49 should prove to be later copies of an old tradition the merchants whose speech is recorded therein would also belong to the period of the Old Kingdom. In view of the conservative tendency of toponyms one will not be in error to assume that the place name A.ḪIA LÚ.MEŠ DAM.GĀR in Bo 5607 iii 6²⁸ preserves a tradition about merchant activities from an early period, perhaps Old Kingdom.

Aside from the many other references cited by Otten²⁹ let us only add here the following: (1) the merchant plays a speaking role in the myth of Kumarbi and Ocean (XXXIII 117 obv. i 12, 17; cf. *memiškiwan daiš* in 12 and 18); (2) merchants figure in the state treaties of Aziru (KBo X 12 i 11) and Šaušgamuwa (XXIII 1 rev. iv 14–15); and (3) are included in the newly published personnel list KBo XIV 142 rev. iv 7 (cited by inventory number 230/p IV 7 in Otten's review of the evidence cited above). Merchants had played a prominent role in the life of Asia Minor at least since the period of the Old Assyrian merchant colonies.³⁰ Familiarity with the merchant's practices left its mark on the literature. Otten mentions the *topos* "the merchant falsifies the balance."³¹ The justice of the gods was also symbolized by the balance, for in Hittite Law §169 a petitioner addresses the sun-god as follows: ^{GIŠ}elzi-mit-wa takna aršikkīt, "you have planted my balance in the earth." There is also the interesting passage in which the infernal deity ^dA-a-bi uses a balance (^{GIŠ}.RĪN ZI-BA-NA).³²

Of the first of the toponyms in this line (KBo XII 42 iii 3) only the first sign is preserved. Any

restoration can therefore only be tentative. There is, however, room in the lacuna for only three signs at the most. We may exclude at the outset all toponyms in which the *u* is followed by a doubled consonant or a cluster of two consonants, since at Boğazköy such names would be spelled without initial *ú* or *u*.³³ Toponyms in which the consonant following the *u* is *ḫ* constitute an exception in this respect, since writings with initial *u* are the rule.³⁴ Thus limiting ourselves to toponyms beginning with *ú* followed by either another vowel, a doubled *ḫ*, or a single consonant, and containing only four signs at the most, we can choose from the following: ^{URU}ú-na-li-ya,³⁵ ^{URU}Ú-ri-ki-na,³⁶ ^{URU}Ú-ri-iš-ša,³⁷ ^{URU}Ú-ri-iš-ta,³⁸ ^{URU}Ú-ru-ru-wa,³⁹ ^{URU}Ú-i-lu-ša,⁴⁰ ^{URU}Ú-ru-uš-ša,⁴¹ and ^{URU}Ú-ra.⁴² It is even permissible to include ^{URU}Šam-lu-uš-na here, since *ú* can be read *šam* at Boğazköy in at least one case.⁴³ Of the above candidates certainly the most intriguing is ^{URU}Ú-ra, since the merchants from this Cilician city are known to have engaged in a lucrative trade in North Syria in the days of Ḫattušiliš III.⁴⁴ Furthermore, if the restoration [^{UR}]Za-al-l[a-ra]

33. ^{URU}Uk-ki-ya (VII 20 rev 7), ^{URU}Uk-šu-ú (XXXI 55 obv 2), ^{URU}Uk-ku-e-ri-ya (XXXI 44 i1).

34. ^{URU}U-uḫ-hi-u-wa (KBo XII 53 obv i 14).

35. XXIII 11 obv ii 14.

36. KBo IV 10 rev 28; KBo XI 69 obv 3; VI 6 i 7, 12, 16; etc.

37. HT 14 16; XXV 23 obv i 9; see H. Klengel, *Gesch. Syriens* I 268⁴⁵.

38. XXV 23 obv i 34, 35, 39, 42, etc.

39. XXXIV 43 obv 5.

40. XXIII 11 obv ii 19; XXI 2 obv i 4, 6, 10, 15, etc.

41. XXVI 43 obv 40.

42. KBo II 9 obv i 12; also spelled ^{URU}U-ra-a (XXXI 55 obv 6; XXVI 29 9). On this city see E. Laroche, *Syria* 35 (1958) 270f. and A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962) 487. Its name in the Greco-Roman period was Olba.

43. J. Friedrich's *Heth Keilschriftlesebuch* II 33, sign 159 does not acknowledge this phonetic value for the sign at Boğazköy. It is proven by the alternation of spellings ^{URU}Ša-am-lu-uš-na-aš (2 BoTU 23A iii 24) and ^{URU}Šam-lu-uš-na (KBo II 12 obv ii 40, rev vi 9; KBo X 10 obv iv 12; etc.). In view of ^{URU}[Š]a-am-lu-ta-aš (2 BoTU 23A iii 40) it is tempting to read also ^{URU}Šam-lu-wa-an-ta-aš (KBo V 7 rev 18) and to consider ^{UR}.SAGŠa-lu-wa-an-da-aš (II 1 obv i 45, ii 13, etc.) and ^{KUR}Ša-lu-wa-an-ti-ya-aš (XXXVIII 10 rev iii 15) as containing nasalized *a*-vowels in their first syllables.

44. C. H. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," *JNES* 17 (1958) 28–31; E. Laroche, *Syria* 35 (1958) 270f.; W. F. Albright, "Abraham and the Caravan Trade," *BASOR* 163 (1961) 44–54.

28. Cited by E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 78⁸⁹. See also Klengel, *MIO* 8 16 and 21²⁹.

29. ZA 53 (1959) 182–3.

30. On these see A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*² 64–81; P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*; and H. Lewy in *CAH*², vol. 1, ch. 24.

31. ZA 53 (1959) 183⁴⁹.

32. Otten, ZA 54 (1961) 130–1 (iii 19–20): "scrutinize silver (and) gold, iron (and) tin, lapis lazuli (and) carnelian by means of the balances!" This request is made to the deity ^dA-a-bi, who is at this juncture being invoked through a ritual pit. For the deity and a discussion of such pits and their use see Hoffner, *JBL* 86 (1967) 385–401. The reading ^{GIŠ}.RĪN instead of ^{GIŠ}NUNUZ (more commonly used by Hittitologists) was suggested to me by Professor Goetze. It is justified by the manner in which this word appears as a loanword in Akkadian, *gišrinnu* (CAD G 107a), as well as by the syllabic spellings of the Sumerian in the vocabularies (*giš-ri-in* in Diri, *mé-eš-ri-in* in Proto-Diri 168).

be accepted for the other toponym in this line, we would be confronted with two cities localized by several scholars in the southern or south-central portion of Asia Minor.⁴⁵ If the first city mentioned in this line is Ura, the attempt to date this text (KBo XII 42 and its duplicate) becomes important for the determination of how much earlier than the time of Hattušiliš III the merchant colony operated out of that Cilician city.

4: The terms *iyata* (HWb, p. 81 under *iyatar*) and *tameta* (HWb, p. 208) are virtually synonymous. The HWb gives "Fülle, Überfluss" for the former and "Üppigkeit" for the latter. *iyata(r)* is found in the following texts: [...] *-tar i-ya-tar i-da-a-lu* [...] (XXIII 40 obv 3, a historical fragment); *ut-ne-ya* [...] *-ya-ta ta-mi-e-ta ki-i-ša* (VIII 22 iii 2-3; space to accommodate perhaps three signs before *i* in the lacuna at the left end of the column); *nu* ^{DUG} *pal-ḥa-aš an-[da]-an i-ya-a-da i-[e-et]* (KBo III 7 i 17-18; Illuyankaš myth); *nu-za SĪG.BABBAR ki-iš-ri-in da-a-aš nu-za TUG x* [...] ⁴⁶ *EGIR-an-da i-ya-an-ni-iš nu-za-pa i-ya-da* [...] ⁴⁶ *nu-za EM-ŠA GA-KIN.AG Ī-an GA da-a-aš nu-za* [...] ⁴⁶ *nu-za* ^{GIŠ} *ti-i-pa-an* ^{GIŠ} *SU.NAG.NAG da-a-aš* [...] ⁴⁶ (XII 63 rev 15-18; ritual of Zuwi); *i-ya-da dam-me-d[a]* (IV 4 obv 14; in trilingual hymn to the storm-god, of which the Sumerian version reads at this point *an-ta ḥi-in-gal* "abundance from heaven").⁴⁷ The spellings without the final *r* (i.e., *i-ya-ta*, *i-ya-a-da*, *i-ya-da*)⁴⁸ seem to be old, for they occur in texts which contain other orthographic and grammatical features which have been considered by many scholars as characteristic of Old Hittite. KBo III 7 (Illuyankaš myth) and its duplicate, XVII 5, for instance, contain several of these old features of spelling and morphology. The third person singular forms of verbs with stems in *-iya-* exhibit the *-ie-* graphic, as against the later spellings with *-iyaz(z)i* and *-iyat: i-e-et* (KBo III 7 i 14, 18), *ú-e-mi-et* (KBo III 7 i 20), *ka-le-e-li-e-et* (XVII 5 i 16).⁴⁹ The enclitic pro-

noun *-e* "they"⁵⁰ occurs twice (XVII 5 i 12, 13). The enclitic local particle *-(a)pa*, which occurs frequently in texts of the earliest historical periods (bilingual edict of Hattušiliš I [I 16], the "Menschenfresser" text KBo III 60, the Telepinuš proclamation [2 BoTU 23], historical report of reign of Telepinuš [KBo XII 8 i 9, 11], and several mythological and ritual texts not easily datable by criteria other than strictly linguistic ones) but only rarely in texts of the empire period,⁵¹ is found in KBo III 7 i 13 (*an-da-ma-pa ti-i-ya[-at?]-te-en*).⁵² The particle *-apa* is also found in close conjunction with the spelling *i-ya-da* in the ritual of Zuwi (XII 63 rev 16). The spelling *i-ya-da dam-me-d[a]* in IV 4 obv 14 without final *r* is not matched, however, by the spelling *dam-me-tar-wa-an-za* in line two of the same text, because in the latter the *r* is not final.

5: Each of the three preserved divisions of KBo XII 42, as marked off by the single horizontal lines which occur after lines 5, 9, and 14, closes with the expression *pe ḥarweni*. It would appear that this repetition is no accident, but that the text wishes to emphasize that the merchants keep at hand a large variety of goods which are thus made available to their clients. The verbal construction *pe ḥar-* has been variously rendered by different Hittitologists. Friedrich (HWb, p. 56) translates it as "hinhalten; behalten." In his translations of the fragments of the "Deeds of Šuppiluliuma" H. G. Güterbock renders the expression twice as "held"⁵³ and twice as "kept."⁵⁴ O. R. Gurney, on the other hand, suggests a translation "bring" in his discussion of the oracle text from Alalakh.⁵⁵ The latter's argument is not

50. Friedrich, ZA NF 2 239ff.; *Helh. Elementarbuch* 63, §102b.

51. Carruba, Or NS 33 (1964) 418¹.

52. This reading, which was already suggested by the translation of A. Goetze in ANET² 125b ("Come ye to my aid!") in 1955 and is adopted also by Carruba (Or NS 33, 1964, 420), is rejected by E. Laroche (RHA 77, 1965, 66) in favor of *an-da-ma* 'PA'-*ti-i-ya*[-x-x]-*x-te-en* but with no explanation for the new reading. There may be a problem in justifying the *-at?* (no question mark or brackets in Carruba's transliteration!) with the traces, but the joining of the *pa* with the preceding *an-da-ma* is much to be preferred to Laroche's 'PA'-*ti-i-ya*[-x-x]-*x-te-en*.

53. JCS 10 (1956) 67 and 80.

54. *Ibid.* 60 and 76.

55. D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* 117¹.

45. E. Laroche, *Syria* 35 (1958) 270f.; J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *Geogr. of the Hittite Empire* 63-4.

46. Space in the lacuna to accommodate about 10 more signs.

47. E. Laroche, RA 58 (1964) 72-3 with brief comment on meanings of *dammeda* ("abundance") and *iyata* "fertility" on the bottom of page 77.

48. Friedrich, *Helh. Elementarbuch* 2 33, §30.

49. Otten and Souček, AfO 21 (1966) 7.

convincing. "To have ready/at hand," "to hold in readiness" or "to have in one's possession" seem to be the most satisfactory renderings of this construction. Particularly instructive for the present context in KBo XII 42 is Hittite Law §III, in which the construction *pe ʕarzi* — for the purposes of the formulation negated here — describes the merchant as having in his possession his *aššu* ("goods"), for *aššu* is one of the expressed objects of *pe ʕarweni* in KBo XII 42 iii 10.

6: NAM.RA in Sumerian means "that which is seized" (from the Sumerian verb RI "to seize").⁵⁶ The Akkadian translation of NAM.RA was *šallatu*.⁵⁷ This Akkadian noun denotes that group of persons, animals, and items of moveable property which comes under the control of a conquering army and its leaders. Since all members of this group are transportable, they may at the bidding of the leader(s) of the conquering force be relocated in some other geographical area under the control of that army. As has been recognized long ago,⁵⁸ the Hittite texts include in the NAM.RA classification no livestock or non-living items, for these are often specified alongside of NAM.RA with the terms *šaru* ("booty"), GUD ("cattle"), and UDU ("sheep"). Thus in Hittite texts the NAM.RA.MEŠ or NAM.RA.ḪIA are living persons some of whom may have been among the soldiers in the defeated army, but most of whom are civilian elements such as wives, children, the elderly and infirm, and the servants of the conquered people.⁵⁹ Such colonies of resettled persons are attached by the king to a particular locality, from which, as semi-free persons, they are not permitted to depart. If they flee or are kidnapped from their assigned location, the king orders that they be returned from the country where they have found refuge. Since it does not appear that such persons become the slaves of individual Hittites but constitute a class of persons under restrictions imposed by the crown, we must not consider them to be slaves whom the merchants intend to market in KBo XII 42. Yet

some explanation must be advanced for the employment of the term in the context of this description of merchant activity. The boastful tone of the entire text is evident from the repeated use of the adverb *mekki* (lines 6, 8, 9, 13). An examination of the verbs in the context reveals that *pe ʕarweni* takes as its objects the non-living (or better, inanimate) items *iyata*, *tameta*, *ḫalkiyaš*, GEŠTIN.ḪIA-aš, *aššu*, KÛ.BABBAR, GUŠKIN, etc. *Nanniyaweni* (line 8), on the other hand, governs the terms for livestock, while *wedaweni* describes the action performed on the NAM.RA.ḪIA. The merchants have in their possession and keep at hand the various items of food and valuables; they drive along in their caravan numbers of cattle and sheep; and they bring along with them a large company of NAM.RA people. If this company of semi-free persons is not a pool from which individual slaves can be removed and sold, then why do the merchants bring them along on the expedition? It has been claimed that such colonies of NAM.RA people were bound to a locality and could not be removed on pain of royal action against the responsible agent who removes them. Yet it was within the normal prerogatives of the king himself to decide to relocate such a colony. And since merchants often operated under royal orders, especially when they engaged in the ancient equivalent of what we would call "interstate commerce" today, it is possible that this colony of NAM.RA was being transported to a new home under royal command in the company of the merchants of Ura and Zallara.

Mekki (see also line 8) has been translated above as "in large numbers" or "in large amounts." Although the *HWb* recognizes an adverb *mekki*, it attributes to it only the meaning "sehr."⁶⁰ The corresponding adjective, *mekki-*, is defective in its declined forms.⁶¹ The Hittite noun represented by the logogram NAM.RA.ḪIA is *arnuwaluš* (acc. pl. of *arnuwala-*).⁶² If *mekki* is to be understood as an attributive adjective modifying *arnuwaluš*, one might expect the form **meggauš*. In order to express the notion of large quantity the Hittite scribes utilized other expressions in addition to *mekki-*. A large amount of grain was often

56. Delitzsch, SG1. s. v. ri, Deimel, ŠL II 580ff., sign #328 (RA).

57. *Ibid.* Most of the discussion of NAM.RA in the Hittite texts which follows is summarized from the fundamental discussion by Götze in AM 217ff. Other contributions to the subject have been made by Laroche, RA 43 72ff. and S. Alp, JKF 1 113-5.

58. See Götze, AM 218. 59. *Ibid*

60. HWb 140.

61. *Heth. Elementarbuch*² 49-50, 128.

62. Alp, JKF 1 113-135; HWb 32.

described as *išḫuešni* "in a heap."⁶³ Large numbers of soldiers were said to either attack the enemy or be killed *pangarūt* "in hordes."⁶⁴

8: The verb *nanna-* (HWb, pp. 148-9) commonly portrays the driving of livestock. Compare Götze-Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlähmung*, pp. 14-5 as well as XII 8 obv i 3, where the object is GU₄.MAḪ.

9: *Ḫalki-* is attested with at least⁶⁵ two significations: (1) often it denotes nothing more specific than "cereal, grain" (HWb, p. 47); but (2) in some contexts it must be defined as a particular variety of cereal, namely the main staple, "barley." In this respect *Ḫalki-* merely duplicates the semantic range of the corresponding Akkadian term *še'u* "cereal, barley."⁶⁶ A. Kammenhuber has already indicated this restricted usage of *Ḫalki-* for "barley" in her discussion of the Hittite hippological texts,⁶⁷ but the same usage is found in other texts as well. In the Telepinuś myth, first version, A I 14, *ḫal-ki-iš* is grouped with *ZÍZ-tar* ("emmer").⁶⁸ *Ḫalkiḫ* is also paired with *kar-aš* ("wheat"?; HWb Erg. 1, p. 9)⁶⁹ in XVII 10 obv i 14; XXIV 9 ii 44; and XXVII 67 obv ii 4.

63. Götze, *Madd.* 62-4. for the formation compare *tapešni* "formerly" from **tapeššar* HWb 211.

64. HWb 157.

65. I was aware of the two "meanings" given above before the composition of this article. In this comments on the present section of this manuscript Professor Goetze wrote: "My Dictionary article '*Ḫalki*' sets up the following major 'meanings': (1) 'barley (the main staple)'; (2) 'grain (like German Korn) (general term for any cereal)'; (3) 'crop'." Because I have not seen his Dictionary manuscript, I cannot, of course, assess the third "meaning."

66. Only "Getreide" in Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* (1896) 631a; but already "Getreidekorn, Getreide; Gerste; Kost" in Bezold, BAG 260a (1926); "Gerste, Korn, Getreide" in Deimel, ŠL II 688, entry 367:14.

67. *Hippologia Hethitica* (1961) 312. Even earlier see Laroche, RHA 53 (1951) 68²⁴.

68. That *ZÍZ-tar* in Hittite texts should be rendered "emmer" rather than "spelt" has not been recognized by Friedrich (HWb 301), although this identification of Sumerian *ZÍZ*, Akkadian *kunāšu*, Aramaic *kunnātā* and other cognates was demonstrated long ago by Hrozný (*Getreide* 58ff.).

69. That the signs *kar-aš* are to be read phonetically, as Laroche has claimed (RHA 53, 1951, 68; RA 48, 1954, 49), may be correct. What is not clear is the morphological significance of the final *š*. Some evidence seems to suggest that the word is a neuter *š*-stem. For example, in XXIV 14 i 10 *nu 1 UP-NU kar-aš ma-al-la-an* the participle *malla*n is a neuter nom-acc. sg., and the

GEŠTIN.ḪI.A-*aš* (B: GEŠTIN-*aš*) probably refers to grapes, the harvest of the vine, as *Ḫalkiḫ* denotes the harvest of the grain fields. The fruits of the grape vine were sometimes transported as raisins (^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN.ḪĀD.DU.A)⁷⁰ or as wine (GEŠTIN or *wiyanaš*). Among the qualitative terms for wine in the Hittite texts are: "good wine" (SIG₅-*antan* GEŠTIN-*an*),⁷¹ "new wine" (GEŠTIN.GIBIL),⁷² "sour wine" (GEŠTIN.EM-ŠA),⁷³ "sweet wine" (GEŠTIN.KU₇),⁷⁴ and "honeyed wine" (GEŠTIN.LĀL).⁷⁵ Honeyed beer (KAŠ.LĀL) was also prepared by the Hit-

text continues with *na-at šal-ga-mi*, the *-at* being the neuter enclitic pronoun resuming *kar-aš*.

70. HWb 273. The Akkadian equivalent is *mu(n)-ziqu* (AHw 692a) which is found only in Middle and Late Babylonian texts. If the *n* is secondary in this Akkadian word, there is a remote chance that the root is the same as West Semitic *šmq* "raisins," with a metathesis. See also MSL 5 93 and ZA 8 198 rev 8.

71. KBo III 36 obv 12. See also Hoffner, RHA 80 (1967) 21-2 and fn. 7. For *karānum ṭābum* in Old Babylonian see VS 16 52 14 and 17 and ARM 9 17 9 and 12. In the latter passage it is contrasted with *karānum UŠ* ("second quality wine(?)"); see AHw 446-7. The same use of contrasting terms, *yn ṭb* versus *yn d l ṭb* may be found in Ugaritic (UT text 1084: 1-2). C. H. Gordon comments that "it is possible . . . that *yn ṭb* is resinated, while *yn d l ṭb* is unresinated wine; Greeks still prefer the resinated" (UT 406 s.v. *ṭb*). See also AfO 18 330 and 340 for types of wine in Neo-Assyrian texts.

72. X 48 obv i 4; XXV 14 obv iii 2, 4, 9, 11. For ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN *eššu* and GEŠTIN *ellu eššu* in Akkadian texts see CAD E 375b. For the contrasting of GIBIL with LIBIR.RA in Hittite texts and examples of the usage of both with foodstuffs see Hoffner, RHA 80 (1967) 17¹. It would appear that Ugaritic *ḫdl* (like Akkadian *eššu*, but unlike Hebrew *ḥādāš*) was employed to designate "fresh" fruits as opposed to aged or stale ones.

73. KBo XV 37 obv i 61, iii 65; ABoT 7 obv i 11 and FHG 9 i 5. See RHA 80 (1967) 21⁶ and CAD E 153a s.v. *emšu* A. Note that A.BIL.LĀ and GEŠTIN.BIL.LĀ are to be read *ṭābāti*, which may be relevant to the remarks about resinated wine being *karānum ṭābum* and *yn ṭb* in fn. 71 above. See also AHw 215a and 447a. In Ugaritic *ḫmš* = "vinegar" (UT 397, entry 878).

74. KBo II 4 obv ii 15, rev iii 18; X 13 rev iv 11; see Goetze, JCS 5 (1951) 67f. Since wine which has been mixed with honey (LĀL) is called GEŠTIN.KU₇ in XII 5 obv i 21, it is likely that GEŠTIN.KU₇ elsewhere also designates honeyed wine. See Hoffner, RHA 80 (1967) 22⁷. That GA.KU₇ in some contexts might also (like Homeric *melikrēton*) denote honeyed milk is suggested in JBL 86 (1967) 394.

75. VBoT 58 iv 21 (RHA 77, 1965, 85f.), XXVII 49 rev iii 37.

tites.⁷⁶ The sweetening of wine with honey is also suggested by the lines in the Ugaritic epic of KRT (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* 250–1, lines 71–2, 164–5) in which the *yn* (“wine”) of the first line is in poetic parallelism with *nbl* (“honey”) of the second line. C. H. Gordon has compared the KRT passage with the Homeric use of *meliēdēs* to describe wine (*Iliad* IV 346, VI 258, X 579, etc.) and the noun *melikrēton* (“honeyed beverage”) which usually denotes a mixture of milk and honey.⁷⁷ Undiluted honey was often used as a libation to the gods along with beer and wine.⁷⁸ “Fresh honey” (LĀL.GIBIL) is mentioned in X 48 obv i 4 and IX 16 obv i 20.

10: One reading for the logogram KÛ.BABBAR at Boğazköy is certainly suggested by the rebus writing ^{URU}KÛ.BABBAR-ša (^{URU}Ḫattuša): *ḫattuš.⁷⁹ But was there any other term for silver in use among the Hittites? E. Laroche has recently proposed on the basis of a trilingual text found at Ras Shamra that the Hittite adjective *dankuli-* (reduced from **dankuili-*) means “made of tin.”⁸⁰ He also proposed that at the base of this adjective is the term **dankui-* “tin” (literally, “the dark one”).⁸¹ The text from which he draws this equation (RS 25.421, line 21) is still unpublished, so that we must provisionally accept this identification on Laroche’s authority until such time as hand copies of the text allow others of us to check and control the passage. Admittedly, the etymology sounds queer, for one thinks of tin as being a bright metal, not a dark one. If, however, Professor Laroche has correctly interpreted this text and no mistake was committed by the scribe responsible for the Hittite version, we are in possession of unmistakable evidence that at least one metal was called by a name which denoted “color” (one feels uncomfortable using the term *color* for white and black). If tin (or some other metal?) can be called “the dark (one),” it also is to be expected that other metals may be called “the white (one),” “the red (one),”

etc. It is worthy of note that in many of the languages of the Mediterranean basin the word for silver is either identical with or derived from a word meaning “white” or “bright.” In Egyptian the word is *ḥd*,⁸² in Greek *arguros*,⁸³ in Latin *argentum*,⁸⁴ in Semitic *kaspu*,⁸⁵ and in Sumerian KÛ.BABBAR.⁸⁶ The form which Laroche adduces for tin, **dankui-*, is a neuter substantivized adjective. The corresponding form of the adjective “white” would be **ḫargi* or **ḫarki*. Now Laroche has also shown that phonetic complements for the logogram KÛ.BABBAR in Hittite texts suggest at least three possible underlying forms: (1) an extension in *-ant-* of the proper name of a personage “Silver,” (2) the Hurrianism *uṣḫuni-*, and (3) another non-Hurrian neuter noun with a stem in *-i*.⁸⁷ One passage which he cites, although in a broken context, is of interest because of the similarity to the lexical entry to be discussed below. It is: KÛ.BABBAR-*i* GUŠKIN-*an* ṣi-ú-na-aš (IBoT II 121 obv 16). Both metal names may govern the following genitive, since in Hittite the genitive, which normally precedes its governing noun, often does follow that noun when the latter is a logogram. Thus the above passage might be translated “the silver (and) gold of the deity.” At least it does not seem likely that KÛ.BABBAR-*i* is here a dative-locative, but rather a neuter nom.-acc. of an *i*-stem substantive. The lexical text to which reference was made above is KBo I 42 rev iv 9. This text is part of a Boğazköy copy (if not a separate Boğazköy version) of the lexical series IZI = *iṣātu*.⁸⁸ Unfortunately the Sumerian and Akkadian columns have not been preserved for line 9. The Hittite column reads DINGIR-LIM-aš KÛ.BABBAR-*i*, which in my opinion makes no sense when interpreted as “to/for the silver of the deity.” Rather I would normalize the Hittite column as **ṣiunaš*

82. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³ 583b.

83. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* 236b; for the etymology of *arguros* see H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 134.

84. Cassell’s *New Latin Dictionary* 57a.

85. Akkadian *kaspu(m)* (AHw 454a), Ugaritic *ksp*, Hebrew *kesep* (**kasp*). For etymological remarks see Eilers, WdO 2 (1957) 322–337.

86. See Eilers, *op. cit.* 87. RHA 79 (1966) 175.

88. RHA 60 (1957) 84, entry 561. Landsberger considers the material listed under this entry to be a Boğazköy version of the series IZI = *iṣātu*. See H. Schuster, ZA 44 (1938) 268⁵.

76. VBoT 58 iv 21; XXX 32 rev iv 8. RHA 80 (1967) 217, JBL 86 (1967) 394–5.

77. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* 1097b.

78. For an example see myth of the Disappearance of the Sun (RHA 77, 1965, 87f.), A iv 9–10, “he libates unto the sun god and unto Telepinu *marnuwan*, beer, honey, (and) wine.”

79. O. Schroeder, OLZ 1915 5; F. Sommer, IF 55 172ff.; J. Friedrich, ZDMG 96 490–2.

80. RHA 79 (1966) 180. 81. *Ibid.*

hargi and translate it as a nominative: "the silver of the deity." To summarize, it is my opinion that the Indo-European appellative which was in use among the Hittites for silver was **hargi*, but that since a Hurrian term *uṣḫuni* and possibly a Hattic term **hattuš* were also known to the Hittites, these latter two terms (especially the former) might have been employed on occasion to designate the metal. This is only an opinion, but I believe that the several lines of circumstantial evidence adduced above make it as plausible as one can expect short of a bilingual text or a correspondence between KÜ.BABBAR and **har-gi*/**ha-ar-gi* in duplicates of the same text.

The principal known source of lapis lazuli (NA₄.ZA.GIN; Akkad. *uqnû*) was far to the east in Afghanistan.⁸⁹ Yet at least one Hittite text⁹⁰ mentions a Mt. Takniyara as a source of lapis lazuli. Now the location of Mt. Takniyara has not been determined, but the name itself certainly bears a striking resemblance to Anatolian toponyms in *-iyara* and *-ara*: Zunnahara, Hara-hara, ^{1D}Dahara, Ištahara, Zithara, Šahhiyara, Tuḫmiyara, ^{HUR.SAG}Šummiyara, Manaziyara, Hatkara, Zallara, Gazzimara, etc. In fact, it is possible that the name Takniyara contains the Hittite noun *tekan* (gen. *taknaš*) "earth, nether-world." Therefore, a source of lapis lazuli in Asia Minor itself is still at least possible.

11: "Babylonian stone" (NA₄.KÁ.DINGIR.-RA) seems to be found only in Hittite texts to date.⁹¹ Previously unlisted citations are XXVII 67 obv ii 60, rev iii 61, rev iv 34; XXIX 4 obv i 10,

89. Thus the Egyptians purchased the stone through intermediaries from *Tfrr*, a land which Lucas and Harris believe to be a trading station situated somewhere on the route to Afghanistan, the mountains of which contained mines for lapis lazuli (A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Minerals and Industries*⁴ 400). See also Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* I 60-1. The stone was known in Akkadian by a number of names: *uqnû*, *zaginduru*, *zagingišdîlû*, *zagingutukku*, *zaginnu*. Because lapis lazuli was commonly imported by Mesopotamian peoples from the Iranian plateau, the Kerkha River, which flows from thence, was called *Uqnû* by the natives (E. A. Speiser, *Oriental and Biblical Studies* 31-33; article originally published in *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich* 473-485). Speiser believes that the Hebrew term for lapis lazuli was *šoham*. See also J. M. Sasson, *JESHO* 9 (1966) 167.

90. KBo IV 1 obv i 36 and duplicate II 2 obv i 45. See J. M. Sasson, *JESHO* 9 (1966) 167³ and E. Laroche, *RHA* 79 (1966) 171 and 176-7.

91. HWb 279; E. Laroche, *RHA* 79 (1966) 178.

14, 17; XXXIX 45 obv 9; KBo XI 14 obv i 10, ii 11; and here (KBo XII 42 rev 11). It is not unusual that these merchants dealt in iron, copper, and tin (lines 10-11), since trade in metals such as these was lively between Asia Minor and the lands to the south and east. No tin was mined in Asia Minor, but it was imported by the Assyrian merchants of Kanish.⁹²

The *dušû* stone (NA₄.DU₈.ŠŪ.A) is not identified by the CAD with any specific variety of mineral,⁹³ but its color is described as "either yellow or orange."⁹⁴ The Boğazköy passages which contain this stone name are not cited. The word is used outside of Boğazköy to describe tanned goat or sheep hides. Von Soden⁹⁵ defines *dušû* as "Quartz, Bergkristall," but likewise utilizes no Boğazköy passages. Götze cites KBo IV 1 obv 21 and VII 48 obv 11 in the Nachträge of A. Deimel's *Šumerisches Lexikon* II 1136. In addition NA₄.DU₈.ŠŪ.A occurs in the following texts: II 2 obv i 23, 30, 46, ii 17, 21, 28; IX 33 obv 14; XXIX 4 obv i 10, 17; KBo IX 91 obv 9; 146 obv 25; and here (KBo XII 42 iii 11). The color suggested by the CAD (orange-yellow) is everywhere appropriate. As studding for the image of the night goddess in XXIX 4 obv i 10, 17, it represents the yellow luminaries in the night sky. In KBo IX 91 obv 9 it is the material from which the pommel (literally "head" = SAĜ.DU) of a golden dagger is made.

The signs UR[UDU ZABAR] in KBo XII 42 iii 11 are restored on the basis of the expected sequence (e.g., in II 2 obv ii 17, 21, 28). The native term (probably Hattic) for iron, which would have been read for AN.BAR in line 11, was *hapalki*- according to E. Laroche.⁹⁶ This term found its way into the western (Levantine) dialects of Akkadian as *habalginnu*.⁹⁷ Since the H volume of the CAD was published (1956) before

92. Although Cassiodor ascribed the discovery of tin and lead to King Midas of Phrygia and small deposits of cassiterite may be found near Darmanlar, Eskişehir, in Central Anatolia, and near Uşak in the Murad Dağ, and although stream tin vein ore can be found near Kastamuni, Sivas, and Tillek, there is no reason to believe that these tinfields were exploited in antiquity (R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* IX 130f.). Certainly the Assyrian merchants of Kanish brought tin (*annukum*) from Ashur to Asia Minor and not vice versa (H. Lewy, *CAH*², vol. I, ch. 24, 19ff.).

93. CAD D 200f. 94. *Ibid.* 95. AHw 179b.

96. *RHA* 60 (1957) 10. 97. CAD H 3a.

the equation of AN.BAR with Hittite *ḥapalki-* was adduced by Laroche,⁹⁸ *ḥabalginnu* is not defined as "iron."⁹⁹ von Soden too is reluctant to define *ḥabalg/kinnu* as iron in the El Amarna texts and prefers "eine Eisenlegierung?"¹⁰⁰ Doubtless one reason for the hesitancy is the knowledge that there was already available to the scribes both in Akkadian and in West Semitic languages a word for iron, *b/parzillu*, itself a word of unknown linguistic origin. Still all references to iron in the El Amarna tablets employ AN.BAR, there are no phonetic spellings there for *parzillu*. The term *ḥapalki-* is found at Boğazköy not only in Nesite texts, but in Hattic and Hurrian ones as well. What has not been noticed yet is that, just as other metal names appear in Anatolian toponyms (URU.KÛ.BABBAR-ša,¹⁰¹ URU.Kurupzina¹⁰² and perhaps also URU.Wašḥaniya¹⁰³), so also this Hattic(?) word *ḥapalki-* may also occur in the toponym URU.Ha-wa-al-ki-na (VII 24 rev 9) also spelled URU.Ha-wa-ar-ki-na (Hatt. III 9; KBo II 4 rev iv 36).¹⁰⁴

12: AN.NA (Akkad. *anaku*) "tin" (HWB, p. 287; Güterbock, *Orientalia* NS 12, 1943, pp. 149ff.; B. Landsberger, *JNES* 24, 1965, pp. 285–296). The ore was not mined in Asia Minor but is already attested in the Cappadocian texts and in the earliest Hittite texts (Anitta: XXXVI 98b rev 14).¹⁰⁵ AN.NA/*an(n)aku* occurs often in lists of metals such as KÛ.BABBAR GUŠKIN AN.BAR AN.BAR GE₆ AN.NA (XV 9 rev iii 34, etc.). Because of its bright beauty AN.NA was used to plate scepters (XXXVIII 10 iii 9) and other objects, including statues (XXXVIII 1 iv

3–4). From the practice of constructing statues of several different metals arose the symbolic language of the prayers and eulogies, in which the king is said to have a frame made of AN.NA, a head of iron, etc. (XXIX 1 ii 52).¹⁰⁶ Tin is not a strong metal. It was used, therefore, only for plating the surfaces of statues. Yet in XXIX 1 i 49 the king figuratively puts AN.NA and iron into the hearts of the timbers to be used in the building of his palace in order to increase their strength.

The particle *imma*, found here (KBo XII 42 iii 12) in the construction *kuit kuit imma*, was originally studied and defined by Sommer, Götze, and Friedrich (see literature cited in HWB, p. 82). Recently Otten (in L. Rost, *MIO* 4, pp. 332f.) has concluded that in some of its usages *imma* indicates the rhetorical question. It seems to this writer that such a usage is merely an extension of the more customary meaning "even, actually," regularly attributed to this particle by other Hittitologists. Nonetheless, in the constructions *kuiš(-aš) imma* (XIV 3 iii 43–4; XII 27 rev 19–20; XXX 10 obv 11; IV 47 i 9; XXIV 14 i 8; etc.), *kuiš(-aš) imma kuiš* (XIII 4 i 45; XV 31 i 38; KBo V 11 i 26; etc.); *kuiš(-aš) kuiš imma* (XIII 4 iii 52); *imma kuiš* (XXXIV 39 + 80/e + 1213/c, obv ii 25); *kuwapi imma kuwapi* (XV 31 i 38); and *kuwapit imma kuwapit* (IX 27 i 42) the previously determined generalizing force of *imma* ("ever" in "whoever," "wherever," etc.) remains valid.

13: *Šaklai-* (HWB, p. 176) "custom, usage; rite." In KBo XII 42 iii 13 the thought is probably "customary (wares)." The basic concept behind the word is that which is customary, usual, or normal. In XXVI 1 iii 29 (von Schuler, *Heth. Dienstanweisungen*, p. 13) it signifies death as the normal lot of man. In Paškuwatti's ritual against impotence (IX 27 i 28–9) the practitioner says to the client who has removed women's clothes and donned men's: "See! I have taken womanliness away from you and given you manliness in its stead. You have cast off the *šaklin* (customary behaviour?) of a woman; now show the *šaklin* of a man!" In such a context the

98. CAD I/J 321b (1960) simply calls it "*ḥabalkinnu* metal;" CAD S (1962) 203b s.v. *šippatu* first takes notice of Laroche's equation of *ḥapalki* with iron.

99. CAD H (1956) 3a simply calls it "a metal or alloy used for weapons."

100. AHw 301b.

101. Götze, AM 324–5.; see above on fn. 79.

102. Hoffner, JAOS 87 (1967) 184a.

103. Called to my attention by Professor Goetze; see Götze, RHA 36 (1939) 105. The toponym would be based upon the Hurrian word for silver, *ušḫu(ni)-* (see also E. Laroche, PRU 3 314⁵).

104. The *r/l* alternation in Hattic is well known. See also Hoffner, JAOS 87 (1967) 184.

105. See above fn. 92. On the tin vs. lead debate over AN.NA/*an(n)aku* see also J. Laessøe, *Acta Orientalia* 24 (1959) 83–95; H. Limet, *Travail du métal* (1960) 66ff.; T. Jones, JCS 15 (1961), 114f. fn. 2–3; Hallo, BiOr 20 (1963) 137.

106. A. Goetze's rendering 'steel' (with footnote "Literally: tin") in ANET³ 358a is, of course, only an attempt to accommodate the literal meaning of AN.NA ("tin") to the apparent requirements of the context (the frame is to be made of something strong).

symbolic manipulations of garments reflects the closeness of meaning between "customary attire" and "customary behavior." Our English word "habit" shares this same ambiguity. In the enthronement ritual (XVII 31 obv i 21; studied recently by H. M. Kümmel¹⁰⁷) for the substitute king the text states: "then to the new king the 'habit' of kingship is given."¹⁰⁸ In KBo XII 42 iii 13 *ša-ak-la-a-iš* (nom. sg.) occurs in clause final position as a predicate noun without the verb "to be" (*ešzi*) expressed. The suppression of forms of the verb "to be" is a regular feature of clauses consisting of subject and predicate nominative, when such clauses are subordinate (i.e., governed by *mān* "if, when," *takku* "if," *maḥḥan* "when," etc.). Another example of *šaklaiš* used in just this fashion is provided by XIII 4 iv 35-6: *nu ma-a-an ḥa-aš-ša-an-na-aš me-e-ḥu-u-ni DINGIR-LIM-ni ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ša-ak-la-a-iš*, "if at the time of giving birth (there is) a customary rite for any god, . . ."

Unfortunately we do not possess the entire text of this composition. It is, therefore, impossible to determine the overall character and purpose of the piece. Yet within the portion which remains a certain organization is detectable. Each of the three consecutive sections preserved in KBo XII 42, whose limits are marked by the scribe himself by means of the single horizontal dividing lines on the tablet, conclude with the same verb form, *pe ḥarweni*. All verbs in the preserved portion of the text are present tense, first person plural forms in *-weni*. The entire preserved portion in fact constitutes direct discourse, the speakers being the merchants themselves. In the first of the three sections (lines 1-5) the merchants identify themselves by the towns from which they hail. Two towns, possibly even three, are mentioned by name in line 3. If the first is to be restored as ^{URU}Ū-[*ra-a*] and the second as [^{UR}]^U*Za-al-l[a-ra]*, then both towns would have been located in those parts of Asia Minor which were called Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, and western

Cilicia in Roman times.¹⁰⁹ Lines 4 and 5, which conclude this first section, contain the merchants' boast that they will have ready at hand, when they come to their markets, "plenty and abundance" (*iyata tameta*). The second section (lines 6-9) describes the persons brought along in the caravan of the merchants, the animals which are to be found in their herds, and the types of foodstuffs kept. The NAM.RA colony is "brought" (*uda-/weda-*) along, the livestock is "driven" (*nanniya-*), while the foodstuffs are "kept" (*pe ḥar-*). The third section (lines 10-14) contains a listing of the valuables kept in the possession of the merchants: metals, precious stones, and other appropriate wares. It is probable that the word *aššu*, which begins the list, is not a designation of some particular type of valuable item, but rather a general characterization of the specific metal and jewel names which follow it.

It was Otten's provisional estimate in the *Inhaltsübersicht* of KBo XII that KBo XII 42 and its duplicate, ABoT 49, were "probably part of a fairly large epic narrative (of the Old Hittite period?)."¹¹⁰ It is not my claim that the study of the paleography, orthography, and grammar of these two tablets presented in the preceding pages has conclusively proved that either the present copies (KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49) or their forerunners were produced in the Old Hittite period. I do not know what considerations prompted Professor Otten to suggest a possible Old Hittite origin for the text. The linguistic evidence of these two tablets is not such as to permit one to claim that the texts are either definitely old or definitely late. As has been pointed out above, the ductus of KBo XII 42 is not that which Professors Güterbock and Otten have been calling Old Hittite. The conjunctions are not those which we regard as distinctive of Old Hittite texts (*šu* and *ta*), but are *nu* (KBo XII 42 iii 4 and 13) and enclitic *-a* (lines 9 and 10). Neither KBo XII 42 nor ABoT 49 contain any forms which are third person sg. of verbs in *-iya-*. It is therefore impossible for us to judge the age of the texts by the criterion of spellings such as *ti-i-iz-zi* or *ti-i-e-ez-zi* as opposed to the latter writing

107. H. M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König* (SBOT 3) 62, line 20.

108. Kümmel reads *ša-ak-la-uš* (acc. pl.) and wishes to restore a transitive verb such as *ianzi* ("they perform the customary rites"). XVII 31 obv i 21 shows *ša-ak-la-uš* or *ša-ak-la-i*[š]. I have simply chosen the latter in my translation and preferred to restore a verb such as *piyanza* ("is given").

109. See above in fn. 45.

110. Second page (unnumbered) of the *Inhaltsübersicht* of KBo XII under the brief comment describing text number 42.

ti-ya-zi. Nor does KBo XII 42 contain any of the other "test cases" for the Old Hittite orthography, such as *pé-e-ra-an* (for *piran*),¹¹¹ *uš-tu-la-aš* (for *waštulaš*),¹¹¹ *ku-e-en-zi* (for *kuenzi*),¹¹² enclitic dative pronoun *-še* (for later *-ši*),¹¹³ *a-ap-pa* (instead of EGIR-*pa*),¹¹⁴ temporal *ma-a-an*,¹¹⁴ conditional *ták-ku*,¹¹⁴ and many others. I have suggested above that the spelling of *iyata* and *tameta* without the final *r*, while not proving the early date of composition, is certainly compatible therewith. Unfortunately, neither can the spelling of the demonstrative *a-pé-e-ma-kán* aid us in determining the age of the text. For, of the forms of this pronoun only *a-pé-el* (KBo IV 10 obv 4; treaty with Ulmitesub of Dattassa), *a-pé-el-la* (*Taw.* II 12), *a-pé-ez* (*Taw.* IV 40), *a-pé-ez-zi-ya* (KBo IV 10 obv 13), and *a-pé-en-za-an* (IV 1+ i 17) show any regular tendency toward spellings without the extra vowel sign in the second syllable in either early or late texts. Aside from freak spellings like *a-pu-uš-ša* (XIII 33 iv 4) and *a-pa-aš-ša* (XVII 6 i 26; compare *a-pa-a-ša* in line 23), all other forms of *apa-* are always spelled

with the extra vowel in the second syllable: *a-pa-a-aš*, *a-pu-u-un*, *a-pa-a-at*, *a-pé-e-da-aš*, *a-pé-e-da-ni*, *a-pé-e*, in late texts as well as early ones.¹¹⁵

However much we might wish to be able to resolve the question of the dating of KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49 on the basis of orthography and morphology, we are forced by the limited number of significant forms available to us in these 19 lines of text to yield a negative verdict. It is impossible apart from the recovery of more of the text to determine its age on linguistic grounds. The paleography would indicate that the copies in our possession (KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49) are not old. Whether or not the text itself was composed in the early period we cannot at present know.

115. Early (= Old Hittite) texts: KUB I 16 ii 14, 38, 69, iii 23, 24, 39; KBo III 34+ ii 8; Hitt. Laws §§ 10, 23, 25, 43, 45, 50, 57, 58, etc.; and late texts: *Hatt.* III 63; KBo VI 29+ ii 33; XXXIII 11 obv ii 37, 39 alike give full spellings (with the extra vowel sign) of the second syllable of all forms of *apa-* except *a-pé-el*, *a-pé-el-la*, *a-pé-ez*, and *a-pé-ez-za*, which regularly lack the extra vowel sign in late texts. In the early texts one finds some "short" spellings like *a-pé-el* (KUB I 16 iii 4) and *a-pé-el-la* (2 BoTU 17A = KBo III 46, rev 35), but others which are "long" such as *a-pé-e-el-la* (2 BoTU 23A i 13, 19, Hitt. Laws § 65, 142) and *a-pé-e-el* (2 BoTU 23A i 67; Hitt. Laws § 50, 113, 162). The pl. form *a-pé-e* is spelled the same in all periods.

111. A. Kammenhuber, BiOr 18 127.

112. F. Sommer, HAB 206; Carruba, ArOr 33 (1965) 8.

113. Güterbock, ZA NF 10 (1938) 109; Carruba, ArOr 33 (1965) 16.

114. A. Kammenhuber, BiOr 18 (1961) 79f., 125; Carruba, *Die Sprache* 12 (1966) 84¹³.



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Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Jan., 1968, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Jan., 1968), pp. 61-68

Published by: The University of Chicago Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/543743>

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HITTITE *TARPIŠ* AND HEBREW *TERĀPHÎM*

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IF biblical scholars are today not yet in possession of a convincing etymology for *terāphîm*, it is certainly not due to any lack of theories.¹ As early as the Septuagint there seems to be evidence for an attempt to connect the word with the verb *θεραπεύω*, "to heal."² From the period of the Targums comes the statement "Why are they called *terāphîm*, if not that they are works of *tōreph* (obscenity)?"³ Another early Jewish interpretation was that *terāphîm* was a metathesized form from an original *PTRYM*, "interpreters."⁴

Most of the views which are current in Old Testament studies today are developments of these very early theories. They may be classified as follows: (1) Views which presume textual corruption, whether deliberate or otherwise, (2) views which assume the *t* to be a preformative, and (3) views which conclude that the triconsonantal root is *TRP*. In the first group falls the recent brief study of the word by C. J. Labuschagne.⁵ Labuschagne elaborates on the view first proposed in Tanchum (cited above) without apparently realizing that this view is not original with himself.⁶ He argues that the original *PTRYM*, "interpreters," has been intentionally deformed into *TRPYM* as a cacophemy to denote objects "repugnant to later religious thought."⁷ The mention of the real name was avoided out of respect for tabu. Such an interpretation of the name allows us to understand how the *terāphîm* can be coupled with the ephod, which is also used for cultic inquiry. Labuschagne does not insist upon a particular physical appearance of these "interpreters," but maintains: "whatever their form may have been—masks, or images of the figurine type, or perhaps a combination of these—what is certain on the strength of the etymology of the word, is that they were mantic devices designed to be consulted on the interpretation of dreams."⁸ He attempts also to reconcile this view with the narrative of I Samuel, chap. 19, suggesting that the emissaries of Saul sent to bring the (presumed) ailing David from his bedchamber to the king feared to enter the room "while the *teraphim* stood by his bedside, for a sick man consulting the interpreters of dreams on questions of life and death, might not be disturbed."⁹ Of course, in order to defend such an interpretation of I Samuel, chap. 19, one is forced to alter the wording of the text or at least misconstrue the Hebrew. For, although the phrase אֶל-הַמִּטָּה of verses 13 and 16 might conceivably be rendered "at the bed(-side)" as well as "in/on

¹ For a complete bibliography of studies of this term see the article in RGG³, A. R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*, p. 31, n. 3; P. R. Ackroyd, "The Teraphim," *ET*, 62 (1950/51), 378 ff.; G. F. Moore, *Judges* ("ICC"), pp. 381–82; and C. J. Labuschagne, "Teraphim—a New Proposal," *VT*, 16 (1966), 115, n. 1.

² Thus in addition to the writings *Θεραφίμ*, *Θεραφεῖν*, *Θεραπεῖν*, and *Θεραφεῖμ* in the LXX, one finds *Θεραπεῖα* (Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*, p. 648).

³ *Tanḥûma*, *Wayyēšē* cited in G. F. Moore, *Judges*, p. 382.

⁴ *Tanḥûm*; *ibid.*

⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶ At least he does not cite *Tanḥûm* anywhere in his brief article. Doubtless his was an innocent oversight.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 116–17.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

the bed," the rest of the context makes it abundantly clear that the *terāphîm* were made to look from a distance like the recumbent form of the ailing David.¹⁰ It was only when the messengers on their second visit *entered the room* so as to have a close view of the bed, that they discovered the ruse. Michal had employed this image, which was consequently no "figurine" but a life-size statue,¹¹ as a substitute for the body of her husband. Labuschagne's view does have in its favor a possible explanation for the grouping with the ephod. Yet it is unfortunately true here, as in general with all cases of "reconstruction" of earlier forms by means of presumed metatheses, that one can prove almost any theory if he is permitted to tamper with the evidence. It may be that whatever "deformation" is assumed took place before any of the manuscripts or versions in our possession today were composed.¹² But this cannot be proved. Until there is some concrete evidence from an early text that PTRYM or some other form once stood where TRPYM now stands, theories which assume this cannot be considered more than vague and remote possibilities.

Belonging to our second category are theories which derive *terāphîm* from either the root RP', "to heal," or RPY, "to be languid, limp." As noted above, the similarity between the transliteration of *terāphîm* into Greek letters and the Greek verb *θεραπεύω*, "to do service to the gods," "treat medically,"¹³ may have set the Jewish translators of the OT into Greek to thinking about an etymological relationship of TRPYM and RP', "to heal." As has been long observed, one interpretation of the I Samuel 19 incident accords well with the theory that the *terāphîm* were "healing deities."¹⁴ Yet certain phonological and morphological considerations stand in the way of deriving *terāphîm* from a root RP'. The omission of the aleph from the orthography has not been satisfactorily explained. Furthermore, the vocalic pattern *qetālîm* as a masculine plural points to a singular with one of only four possible vocalizations: (1) *qātāl*, (2) *qaṭl*, (3) *qīl*, or (4) *quḷ*, the last three of which would appear in the singular as segholates in massoretic Hebrew. Neither of these four singulars would accord with the expansion of the root RP' by means of a preformative T.¹⁵ The same objection applies to a derivation from the root RPY, "to be limp, languid." Indeed, if the evidence of the vocalic pattern is taken seriously, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the tri-consonantal root was considered to be TRP.

But if TRP is the true root of *terāphîm*, where else is this root attested either in Hebrew itself or in the other Semitic languages? From the post-biblical period we know of Hebrew words like *tōreph* and *tarpūth*, which connote "obscenity," "vileness," and the like. And some scholars, following the early etymological judgment of *Tanchûma*, *wayyēšē*² (cited above), believe that biblical Hebrew *terāphîm* originated from just such a notion ("the vile things" as a pejorative).¹⁶ There is, however, no guarantee that these words from post-biblical Hebrew are not themselves creations from the earlier *terāphîm*, the original

¹⁰ Thus verse 13 says that she placed a pillow at its head and covered it with a garment. The intention seems perfectly clear, and it has long been recognized by OT scholars.

¹¹ It is vaguely possible that a mask was allowed to protrude from under the covers to look like David's face, but the greater probability is that the major part of the *terāphîm* was covered with a garment, hence, it must have been anthropomorphic and life-size. See C. H. Gordon, "Teraphim," *Interpr. Dict. of Bible*, IV, 574.

¹² There is no evidence for any earlier meta-

thesized form in any of the early Hebrew manuscripts or in the early versions. As noted above, the LXX transliterates it so as to presuppose TRPYM or TRPYN (a variant plural formation).

¹³ Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed.), p. 793.

¹⁴ Ackroyd, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

¹⁵ Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, pp. 237-38.

¹⁶ W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1957), p. 311.

meaning of which had long since been forgotten. Consequently, they can offer no independent witness for the existence of a semitic root TRP. The Arabic lexicon has been aptly dubbed by native speakers of the language as *al-qāmūs* ("the ocean"), for its contents are inexhaustible. It is not, therefore, surprising that by searching therein one may produce a verb *tarifa* (root: TRP), "to live in opulence or luxury," "enjoy a soft existence."¹⁷ From this meaning one can even proceed to establish a proto-Semitic root TRP, "to be soft, limp." Yet once again the matter is complicated by questions of dating and provenience of the Arabic term. Most of the literature on which modern Arabic lexicons are based is post-Christian. The principal body of Arabic literature which antedates the Christian Era is the corpus of Old South Arabic Inscriptions, where apparently this root is not yet attested.¹⁸ When we examine the Semitic inscriptions from the third and second millennia B.C.E., we find no such root.¹⁹ Only in one place, in a Ugaritic poem about Baal and Anat, do we find any form which might possibly be construed as deriving from a root TRP. In the line *tłkħ ttrp šmm*, which has been translated "the heavens will wear away and will sag,"²⁰ some scholars have regarded *ttrp* as a G-stem third person masculine plural imperfect of the root TRP.²¹ Others, willing to concede the translation, prefer to analyze the form *ttrp* as a *Hithpael* (or tD) from the root RPY.²² The form, therefore, is so problematic that no case for the existence of a proto-Semitic root TRP can be based upon it.

There appears then to be no evidence outside of *terāphīm* itself from the earlier periods of the Semitic languages for a root TRP. What then are we to say about the linguistic origins of *terāphīm*, if there is no ready Semitic etymology? The only avenue still open to us is to consider the possibility that the word was non-Semitic and perhaps borrowed at an early period from some other major linguistic group in the Near East. Among the influential peoples of the Near East during the third and second millennia B.C.E. whose languages were non-Semitic were the Egyptians, the Hurrians, and the Hittites. We may be permitted therefore to investigate their languages (so far as they are known) for a term which might have passed into early South Canaanite as *terāphīm*. Yet the search for a candidate must be rigorously controlled by the following criteria: (1) the phonetic similarity must either be complete or the divergences must be readily explicable in terms of historical linguistics, (2) the word must bear a signification in texts of its own language which is appropriate as a designation for deities, cult images, or mantic devices, (3) the word must be attested from a period contemporary with the formative stages of Hebrew religion and statehood, and (4) the word must belong to the language of a people who exercised a cultural influence upon Syria and/or Palestine during the period in question.

In the spring of 1965 at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Chicago, Professor Benno Landsberger noted in the course of an address concerned with the present status of Assyriology that recent epigraphical evidence from Boğazköy suggested to him a connection between the Hebrew noun *terāphīm* and the "Hittite"

¹⁷ H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, p. 93; J. G. Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary* pp. 58-59.

¹⁸ A. Jamme, *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqis*, pp. 449-50.

¹⁹ No root TRP exists in Akkadian according to F. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 714, and

Bezold-Götze, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, p. 295, although Delitzsch lists a tree named *tarpi'u*.

²⁰ W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, No. 83 (1941), p. 40.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40, n. 8; see also C. H. Gordon, *UT*, p. 499, Entry No. 2610.

²² Aistleitner-Eissfeldt, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, p. 296, Entry No. 2531.

noun *tarpi*-.²³ Professor Landsberger was not able at that time to detail the nature of this new evidence, but the mere suggestion itself was provocative. And, although the writer's own particular field of interest was Hittitology, he did not pursue the matter further on his own at that time. In the fall of 1966, however, with the appearance of the third supplementary fascicle of J. Friedrich's *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, there was made available to the scholarly world at least one tantalizing bit of this evidence. Professor Heinrich Otten of Marburg announced that he had succeeded in joining several new fragments (to be published in hand copies in the forthcoming volume *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Heft 13, [Berlin: Gebr. Mann], Text No. 1) to the existing columns of *KBo I 44*, and that the new join restored the full Akkadian and Hittite readings for an important section of the Boğazköy version of the lexical series *erim.ḫuš = anantu*.²⁴ Otten further noted that among the new equations thus revealed was that of the Akkadian terms *lamassu* and *šēdu* with Hittite *annariš* and *tarpiš* respectively. Equally opportune was the appearance of an article by Wolfram von Soden of Münster in which he discussed the meanings of these two Akkadian terms on the basis of all their known occurrences in Assyro-Babylonian literature.²⁵ Von Soden concluded from his study that, although both terms were originally abstract nouns denoting some aspect of the life force, in second and first millennium texts *lamassu* and *šēdu* came to signify deities or spirits which might be either protective or harmful. And although there exist rare instances of both evil *lamassu*'s and good *šēdu*'s, the normal pattern was for the two as a pair to denote benevolent spirits, while *šēdu* alone (usually in incantations) represents an evil demon.²⁶ Hence, according to the equation yielded by the newly restored lexical text, Hittite *tarpiš* (nom. sing. of the stem *tarpi*-.²⁷) denotes an evil demon.

But if this newest bit of evidence is the most conclusive with regard to determining the meaning of *tarpiš*, it is by no means the only occurrence of that term. In three other texts from the Hittite capital *tarpiš* appears in immediate juxtaposition with *annariš* in a manner reminiscent of the Akkadian combination *lamassu* and *šēdu*, expressing two aspects of a single protective genius.²⁸ Illustrating the other connotation of *tarpiš* (when

²³ I should like to express my thanks to Professor Landsberger for granting me permission to cite him in this context for his public remarks on *terāphim*.

²⁴ J. Friedrich, *HWb*, Erg. 3 (1966), p. 32 sub *tarpi*-.
²⁵ "Die Schutzgenien Lamassu und Schedu in der babylonisch-assyrischen Literatur," *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, Heft 3, pp. 148-56.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

²⁷ J. Friedrich, *Heth. Elem.*², p. 47 for paradigm.

²⁸ KUB XXXII 87 rev 10-17; KUB II 8 obv i 25-28, ii 11-14, 43-46. In XXXII 87 (annual festival celebrated by the queen) we are reading a description of a festival rite in which the celebrant drinks in a seated position eight times to eight different deities (l. 10). Although there is a break on the right side of the tablet, there are at least parts of eight different divine names in the following four lines—but only if *annarin tarpin* is counted as one deity! This is significant, since it indicates that *annariš tarpiš* as a combination was conceived as one *daimōn*, not two. In KUB II 8 (Antašsum festival for the tutelary deity of Tauriša) the *annariš tarpiš* occurs in a sequence of ostensibly benevolent forces: EME-aš *hantanza* ("the true tongue"), ZI-BU (= *zibu* "food-offering,"

CAD, Z, p. 105?), *šarrumar* ("allotment"?), and UD.SIG₅ (= *Uzzištanu*). The *:tarpīuš* of *KBo XII 70*, line 13b, which is parallel to *ga₁₄-ni-ni* (= *ganīni* "magazines") in the Akkadian version, is more problematic. Von Schuler has suggested orally to Friedrich (*HWb*, Erg. 3, p. 33) the translation "Vorratsraum(?)." This much is probable not only on the basis of the Akkadian but even from the Hittite context (what there remains of it): *ḫa-ri-iš-ta-ni-uš :tar-pi-i-uš-ša ku-i-e-eš ḫal-ki-i šu-un-né-eš-šir GIM-an-ma-ta Gul-ša-aš UD.KAM-uš ti-an-zi nu 9-an a-ra-li-i en kap-pu-u-wa-a-an-zi na-an-ta ki-i-kar-za zi-ik-kán-zi*, "they who have filled with barley the *ḫarištaniuš* and the *:tarpīuš*, when the days of the *Gulšeš* arrive for you, they will count nine *aralin* and lay them at your head." Thus the two objects referred to by *ḫarištani*- and *:tarpī*- can be filled with grain. Yet how do we reconcile the meaning "Vorratsraum(?)" with "evil demon"? That there is some connection is hinted by the word *ḫarištani*-, which—although it denotes something which can contain grain here—is apparently based upon the same stem as the divine name *ḫarištašši* occurring alongside of *annarin tarpin* in KUB XXXII 87 rev 13-14. The common stem is **ḫarišta*-, which has been expanded

it occurs without *annariš*) is the incantation text KUB XXXIII 66 obv ii 9 ff. in which the following passage occurs: *a-ru-ni-ma URUDU-aš pal-ḫa-eš ki-an-da-[ri] iš-tap-pu-ul-li-iš-mi-it A.GAR₅-aš nu-kán [i-da-a-lu²⁹] an-da da-iš ta-ar-pi-in da-iš pár[?]-[]da-iš e-eš-ḫar da-iš ḫa-pa-an-zi d[a-iš] DIRIG³⁰ da-iš iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru da-iš [. . .] da-iš lúm[?]-pa-an³¹ da-iš kam-ma-ra-[an da-iš] ḫur-di³² da-iš i-na-an d[a-iš], “in the sea copper (= bronze?) cauldrons are set. Their lids (are of) lead. And [evil(?)] he put therein, the evil demon (*tarpin*) he put, [. . .] he put, bloodshed he put, *ḫapanzi* he p[ut], sorrow he put, tears he put, [. . .] he put, grief he put, fog(?) [he put], cursing(?) he put, disease he p[ut].” The significance of this passage becomes clear when it is viewed against the background afforded by other incantation passages of a similar type. Bronze cauldrons with lids of lead also figure in the incantation of the wrath of the vanishing god Telepinu,³³ as well as in that of the deity designated by the Sumerogram ^dMAḪ.³⁴ In these*

with the diminutive *-(a)nmi-* to form the container name *ḫarištani-* (“the little **ḫarišta-*”?) but with *-(a)šši-* (*HE²*, par. 51b) to form the divine name ^dḪarištaššiš (“he of the **ḫarišta-*”?). Is it too much to suggest that the *ḫarištaniuš* and *tarpin* here are containers perhaps in the shapes of the deities to guard and care for the deceased? It is interesting also to note in passing that the Akkadian (originally Sumerian) word *ganūnu/ganinu* has (by coincidence?) the same consonantal skeleton as the later Arabic term for the protective genii (*jinnu*).

²⁹ I restore *i-da-a-lu* conjecturally on analogy with other similar incantation rituals.

³⁰ The sign is that which occurs in Forrer’s and Friedrich’s sign lists as SA₅ (= SI + A). A reading SA₅, “red,” is impossible here. This context requires a synonym of “sorrow, grief.” Deimel, *ŠL*, II 123:8 lists a DIRIG.GA = *ašustu* (“grief”) for which see also Von Soden, *AHW*, p. 86a. The reading DIRIG is, however, complicated by the vocabulary entry ^{sa} - ^{sa}SA₅ = *ašāšu* of CT XII 9 iv 9 (cited in *AHW*, p. 79b sub *ašāšu* III).

³¹ The signs are *ši-pa-an*. No word *šipa-* with single writing of the *p* is known elsewhere in Hittite. The *-an* is clearly the Hittite accus. sg. case ending. The interpretation of the two preceding signs is problematic. *ŠI.PA* is hardly an ideogram here. Nor, since the Hittite word for “eye” is *šakui-*, does a reading *IGI-pa-an* satisfy. A value of *li* for *IGI* is known from the divination text AT 454 found at Alalakh (Gurney apud D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, p. 117, n. 6). It may also be found in a rare instance at Boğazköy (*ḫu-tal-li-ya-a[š]* in *KBo* I 51 rev 14). On the Alalakh occurrence, but not noting the Boğazköy example, see H. Kronasser, *Etym. der hethitischen Sprache*, I, p. 492, n. 2. Yet even employing *li* we obtain nothing convincing: *li-pa-an*. In Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian texts, however, one finds also the value *lím* (Von Soden, *Akkad. Syllabar*, p. 77 sub #261). Its distribution is quite restricted, being found only in word-final positions, where the *m* represents the mimation. Yet a reading *lím* in KUB XXXIII 66 has great plausibility, especially since an expanded form *lumpašti-lupašti-* “sorrow, grief” is already known from other texts (*HWb*, p. 131a; see also KUB XXXVI 97 rev iv 1-2: *idalun lupaštin zi-ni piran arha uiyaddu*, “let him banish baleful grief from the mind!”). A reading of *lím-pa-an* here would provide us with the simplex

of *lumpašti-* (*HE²*, § 44d; *EHS*, §§ 33, 115). There is also made possible an etymological connection with Greek *λύπη* “sorrow, grief,” which according to Frisk (*GEW*, II, 145-46) is cognate to forms such as *rump-* in Latin and *lup-/rup-* in Sanskrit.

³² The signs in the copy are clearly ḪAR/ḪUR and DI. The form *ḫur-di* cannot easily be connected with *ḫurtai-* “curse,” since the latter is of common gender, requiring an accus. sg. *ḫurtain* and an accus. pl. *ḫurtauš*. If the second sign is read as *ki(!)*, a reading *ḫarki* (nom.-accus. neut. sg.-pl. of *ḫarki-* “white”) is possible. But “the white thing(s)” is awkward. It is tempting on grounds which I cannot elaborate here (see my “English-Hittite glossary” [*RHA* f. 80 (1967)], 80-81, n. 154) to take *ḫarki* as the Nesite reading of *ḫū.BABBAR* and translate “silver he put,” for we know that both raw silver and silver objects were often dropped into sacrificial pits (*a-a-pi*) as gifts to chthonic spirits, and the cult image of ^dŠulikatte (= Nergal) is trimmed (as well as his weapons) with silver. Yet in a context with evils (bloodshed, tears, grief, etc.) even this reading is unsatisfactory. It is perhaps best just to read the signs *ḫur-di* and leave them untranslated for the present.

³³ Cat. 258, 1st version of Telepinu Myth, A iv 15-19 (latest transliteration by E. Laroche, *RHA* f. 77, pp. 96 ff.): *kal-ta-an da-an-ku-i ták-ni-i ZABAR pal-ḫi ar-ta iš-tap-pu-ul-li-iš-me-et A.GAR₅-aš za-ak-ki-iš-me-iš AN.BAR-aš ku-it an-da-an pa-iz-zi na-aš-ta nam-ma ša-ra-a ū-ul ū-iz-zi an-da-[da]-an ḫar-ak-zi*, “down in the dark netherworld a bronze cauldron stands. Their (sic!) lids (are of) lead; their (sic!) latch (is of) iron. That which goes therein will not again come up out; it will perish therein. (So) also let it hold in the wrath, anger, sin, and fury of Telepinu, and let it not come back!”

³⁴ Cat. 265^e, the disappearance of ^dMAḪ, KUB XXXIII 54 + 47 obv A ii 5-9 (latest transliteration by E. Laroche, *RHA* f. 77, pp. 138 ff.): *[da-an-ku-wa-i ták-ni-i ZABAR pal-ḫi-e-eš ki-ya-an-ta-ri] iš-tap-pu-ul-li-iš-me-et A.GAR₅-aš ku-it-kán an-da pa-iz-zi n[a-aš-ta nam-ma ša-ra-a ū-ul ū-iz-zi an-da-at-kán ḫar-[ak-zi] ^dMAḪ-[aš-ša kar-pi-iš ka]r-tim-mi-ya-az wa-aš-túl ša-a-u-wa-a[r an-da pa-id-du] na-at-kán an-da ḫar-ak-du*, “in the dark netherworld bronze cauldrons are set. Their lids (are of) lead. That which goes therein will not again come up out; it will perish therein. (So) also let the wrath, anger, sin, and fury of ^dMAḪ go in, and let it perish therein!”

passages the cauldrons are not in the depths of the sea, but in the netherworld.³⁵ And in them it is specifically stated that whatever is put into those cauldrons and covered with the lead lids cannot under any circumstances ever come up out again.³⁶ The imagery employed recalls not only the notorious "Pandora's box" of Greek legend, but also the brief episode in Zechariah, chap. 5, where a female figure symbolizing evil witchcraft is placed inside an ephah with a lead lid (כֶּכֶר עֹפֶרֶת) and carried off to Babylon.³⁷ In this passage too the lead lid serves to insure that the spirit or demon cannot escape. In the Hittite incantation text the absence of *annariš* is both striking and significant. For there would be no need to confine *annariš*, since she is a beneficial and protective force rather than an evil one.

In summary, the Hittite evidence is conclusive that *tarpi-* denotes a spirit which can on some occasions be regarded as protective and on others as malevolent. It is possible in view of its connections with the netherworld in incantations that the spirit was a chthonic one, though this cannot be proved. Certainly this meaning would not be at odds with the various uses of Hebrew *terāphîm*. For just as Akkadian *lamassu* and *šēdu* primarily denote the spirits but in later periods are employed to refer to the images, so also the same development may have occurred within Hittite. The *terāphîm* are never directly referred to as objects of worship, though this is often assumed. They are mantic devices employed for cultic inquiry. Furthermore, we know that such inquiries which were not conducted along "orthodox" lines in ancient Israel were usually directed toward the netherworld.³⁸ Thus, although the *terāphîm* are never specifically grouped with the *yidd'ônîm* or the *ʾōbhôt*, as objects of cultic inquiry, they may well have belonged to this same general category. Hence I believe that we can legitimately claim that the terms of criterion number two (allied meaning) have been met.

Criterion number one (phonetic identity) can be satisfied as well, if we observe that Hittite proper names³⁹ and common nouns⁴⁰ regularly lose their consonantal case endings when they are borrowed into Ugaritic.⁴¹ This means that *tarpiš* (stem *tarpi-*) would have been taken over into a West Semitic language as **tarpi*, and the final short *i* of the stem would have been altered in accordance with the early West Semitic case endings (*u* for nom., *i* for gen., *a* for accus.). If *tarpi-* was borrowed during the late

³⁵ Texts: (*kattan*) *dankui takni*.

³⁶ Texts: *n-ašta namma šara natta uizzi*.

³⁷ Zech. 5:5-11.

³⁸ I Sam., chap. 28; Isa., 8:19; etc.

³⁹ Note in the alphabetic texts from Ugarit the personal names Šuppiluliumaš (*špilm*, UT 118:16) and Tudhaliyaš (*tdgl*, UT 1034:9; 1039:21), in both instances without the consonantal case endings.

⁴⁰ Neuter nouns such as *zapzagai-* (= Ugar. *spsg*) prove nothing, since even in Hittite they have (at least in the nom. and accus.) no consonantal case endings. If T. H. Gaster (and the writer independently, cf. *JNES*, 23 [1964] 67) is correct in proposing Hittite *kubaḫiš* (pronounced **kubaḫiš?*) as the origin of Hebrew כֶּכֶר "helmet," then this would provide one instance of the loss of the case ending in transfer. The writer's theory on Ugaritic *dgt* and its Anatolian origins (*JNES*, 23 [1964], 66-68) need not be rejected because of the final *ḡ*, since an equally good case can be made for a pronounced **duḡḡuša* for Hittite *tuhḫuešsar*, "resin (for incense)" (see now H. G. Güterbock, *RHA*, f. 74 [1964], pp. 106 f.). The final *r*

of abstracts in *-ešsar* and *-atar* is often omitted in the orthography, as doubtless also in speech (*HE*², p. 33, par. 30b). It is not likely (so De Moor in *JNES*, 24 [1965], 355-56) that *dgt* is a denominative verb "to incense for purification." Ch. Rabin's theory that Hebrew *lappid* preserves an instance of the Hittite instrumental case ending (i.e., **lappit* from *lappiya-*, "kindling wood[?]",) is without precedent (*Or*, NS, 32 [1963], 129, n. 1). Rabin should also have indicated that **lappid/t* is totally hypothetical as the instrumental of the noun *lappiya-*, which is not at present attested in that case. Furthermore, it is not clear that nouns of the common gender in *-iya-* form their instrumentals by a monophthongization of the *-iya-* to *-i-*. Of the only two other Hittite nouns in *-iya-*, *memiya-* forms its instrumental by the addition of an *n* as hiatus (*meminit*), while there is no attested instrumental for *taparriya-*.

⁴¹ I am indebted to Dr. Manfred Weippert of Tübingen, who by letter pointed out to me this characteristic of early loans from Hittite into Semitic languages.

Bronze Age, the vocalization of its nominative singular form would presumably have been **tarpu*. According to the established rules of phonetic development for Hebrew such a form would have become **tereph* in the (hypothetical) singular and *terāphīm* in the plural of massoretic Hebrew. Thus I believe that the phonetic identification of the two terms is convincing.

As to criterion number three (chronology), the Hittite texts from Boğazköy belong to a period roughly contemporaneous with the Hebrew patriarchs, Moses, and Joshua (ca. 1650–1200 B.C.E.). But although the earliest Hittite documents (e.g. the Anitta text: *KBo* III 22+) date from as early as the age of the later patriarchs, it should be pointed out that the most likely period for the transfer would have been during the thirteenth century.⁴²

The final criterion concerns the sphere of Hittite cultural influence. Now it cannot be questioned that Palestine (and particularly southern Palestine) lay within the cultural and political sphere of Egypt rather than that of the Hittites in the north or the cultures of Mesopotamia to the east. Yet OT scholars have long recognized that no one foreign power held a monopoly on the influencing of Palestinian life. The evidence of both literary and non-literary remains on Palestinian soil suggests that the early inhabitants thereof benefited (or suffered) from cultural influences proceeding from Egypt, the Aegean, Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia.⁴³ The influence of Asia Minor in particular is perhaps slight in comparison with that from areas nearer at hand, yet it is clearly present. On the basis of evidence from the biblical text itself Hittite cultural influence has been detected which is linguistic,⁴⁴ juristic,⁴⁵ and historiographic.⁴⁶ This influence may have been mediated by the migration of Anatolian peoples (either the *ḫitai* themselves, as defended by E. Forrer,⁴⁷ or perhaps the *ḫitai*, as recently proposed by G. E. Mendenhall⁴⁸) or indirectly through north Syrian peoples who enjoyed the cultural

⁴² Hittite political and cultural influence on North Syria during the period of the Old Kingdom (ca. 1650–1400 B.C.E.) was negligible. It is true that both Ḫattušili I and Muršili I campaigned in Syria, but no system of alliances or vassal relationships were instituted until the time of Šuppiluliuma I (ca. 1380 B.C.E.). It is from this latter period that we must trace the greatest political and cultural influences from Anatolia through Syria into Palestine. For the history see now O. R. Gurney, "Anatolia c. 1750–1600 B.C." and "Anatolia c. 1600–1380 B.C." (New *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. 2, chaps 6 and 15), and A. Goetze, "The Struggle for the Domination of Syria," "Anatolia from Shuppiluliumash to the Egyptian War of Muwatallish," and "The Hittites and Syria" (New *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. 2, chaps 17, 21, and 24).

⁴³ It is impossible to detail all of the archeological evidence here. Some of the more recent evidence is to be found in R. Hestrin and M. Tadmor, *IEJ*, 13 (1963), 283, n. 52, 287, and C. A. Key, *IEJ*, 13 (1963), 289–90.

⁴⁴ Two articles summarize the present status fairly well: P. Fronzaroli, "Rapporti lessicali dell'ittita con le lingue semitiche," *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 41 (1956), 32–45, and Ch. Rabin, "Hittite Words in Hebrew," *Or.*, NS, 32 (1963), 113–39. Of the twenty-two examples cited by Rabin, only about seven are very plausible. Yet even these reveal an appreciable cultural influence albeit indirect.

⁴⁵ The two best-known examples being the

influence of the literary form of the Hittite suzerainty treaties upon early Hebrew covenant formulation (G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East*; M. G. Kline, *Treaty of the Great King*; D. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*), and the possible explanation of the issue at stake in the bargaining between Abraham and Ephron "the Hittite" in Genesis, chap. 23 (M. R. Lehmann, *BASOR*, no. 129 [1953], pp. 15–18, challenged recently by G. Tucker, *JBL*, 85 [1966], 77–84).

⁴⁶ The matter of Hittite and biblical historiography was investigated by A. Malamat in *VT*, 5 (1955), 1–12. This area deserves more study. There is a good possibility that Hittite literary forms underlie some of the earliest pieces of Hebrew historical writing, such as the celebrated "court history of David." My student, Dr. Herbert M. Wolf, has explored the relationships between the Apology of Ḫattušiliš and I Sam., chaps. 16–31, and II Sam., chaps. 1–8, in his Brandeis University doctoral dissertation published in Xerography by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1967. Much of the present writer's thinking on the matter is contained therein.

⁴⁷ "The Hittites in Palestine," *PEQ*, 68, 190–209, and 69, 100–115.

⁴⁸ G. E. Mendenhall, "Who Were the Hivites?"—oral presentation at 102d Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, December, 1966, in New York City.

heritage of the "neo-Hittite" kingdoms of Aleppo, Ya'udiya, and Arpad. It is perhaps possible only to suggest a partial satisfaction of criterion number four. Yet even so, the accordance of this theory with the first three criteria and the likely fulfilment of number four render it far more plausible than any of its earlier rival hypotheses. The name *terāphîm* is then, I suggest, a cultic term brought into Syria and Palestine by migrant cultic personnel⁴⁹ formerly resident in Anatolia. It was adopted by the south Canaanites at the end of the Amarna Age (thirteenth century) and preserved for us only (to date) in the pages of the OT as a designation for a type of idol or mantic device.

A Hurro-Hittite source for Hebrew *terāphîm* would accord well with the apparent Hurro-Hittite origin of the Hebrew term ^ʾ*ôbh* "ritual pit; (spirit from the) ritual pit," which M. Vieyra (*RHA* f. 69 [1961], 47–55) first identified with Hittite *a-a-bi*. To this question the writer has recently devoted an entire article, "Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew ^ʾ*ôbh*," which is scheduled to appear in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (hopefully Vol. 86 [1967], Part IV). It is possible that both Hebrew ^ʾ*ôbh* and *terāphîm* are based upon old substratum words rather than upon loanwords from Hurrian or Hittite. Thus Professor Landsberger considers them to be "ursprachliches Residuum." This interpretation carries more conviction in the case of *a-a-bi*, since it has no cognates in Hittite. In the case of *tarpiš*, however, one feels from the many cognate forms (*tarpališ*, *tarpalaš*, *tarpanalkašša-*, *tarpatarpa-*, and divine name ^ḫTarpatassis) that the word must be native to the language. Both words, however viewed as to source, have in both their Hebrew and Hittite manifestations a pronounced chthonic orientation. As seen above the Hittite *tarpiš* could be confined in the netherworld, and the *a-a-bi* pit was intended as a means of gaining access to deities or departed spirits presently residing in the infernal regions. The Hebrew ^ʾ*ôbh* likewise was a pit used by a practitioner to communicate with departed spirits (I Sam., Chap. 28). The *terāphîm* were not employed to communicate with the nether regions, but they were a mantic device.

⁴⁹ Those whom Homer calls the *δημιοεργοί* (Odyssey XVII 382–86); see C. H. Gordon, "Ugaritic Guilds and Homeric *ΔΗΜΙΟΕΡΓΟΙ*," *The Aegean and*

the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman, pp. 136–43.



A HITTITE ANALOGUE TO THE DAVID AND GOLIATH CONTEST OF CHAMPIONS?

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Source: *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, APRIL 1968, Vol. 30, No. 2 (APRIL 1968), pp. 220-225

Published by: Catholic Biblical Association

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43712165>

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A HITTITE ANALOGUE TO THE DAVID AND GOLIATH CONTEST OF CHAMPIONS?

One of the most fascinating and colorful aspects of the ancient epics describing warfare is the phenomenon of the contest of champions. Exciting and romantic, this practice—real and practical as it may have been in actual history—was often singled out for mention in the epic tales of antiquity. Modern readers are perhaps most familiar with it in the pages of the Old Testament and of Homer's *Iliad*. Who is there who has never heard of David and Goliath (1 Sm 17),⁰ or of Menelaus and Paris (*Iliad*, book 3), or of Hector and Ajax (*Iliad*, book 7)? Yet scholars have demonstrated that the practice was still more widespread than in the plains of Troy and the valley of Elah.

Individual combat of champions was intended to obviate the necessity of a general engagement of troops which would spill more blood than necessary to resolve the dispute. In this respect instances of individual combat of heroes must be analyzed as to motivation and purpose before assigning them to this category. While Marduk's battle with Tiamat in *Enūma Elish* is a clear case of representative fighting, the belt-wrestling contest between Gilgamesh and Enkidu (*Gilgamesh Epic*, tablet 2) was *not* a contest of champions, since the purpose was not to resolve an issue which would otherwise have demanded an engagement of rival armies but rather the settlement of a personal rivalry.¹ This kind of conflict is better described as a *duel*. The individual combat between the Egyptian Sinuhe and his Syrian antagonist (*Sinuhe*, lines 109ff.; *ANET*, p. 20), which has occasionally been compared with the David and Goliath contest, was also only a duel to settle a private antagonism. There is no evi-

⁰ On single combat in the OT see R. deVaux, *Bib* 40 (1959) 495-508.

¹ J. B. Pritchard, *ANET*, 21955, p. 78. For a discussion of the form of wrestling to which the episode refers see C. H. Gordon, *JNES* 7 (1948) 264, and A. L. Oppenheim, *Or* NS 17 (1948) 30. The only remote sense in which one might argue that this conflict was between champions would be that the oppressive actions of Gilgamesh against the people of Uruk, which elicited the complaint of the people to Anu (tablet 1, col. 2; *ANET*, pp. 73-4), also demanded that Enkidu, the double of Gilgamesh, be brought to Uruk to challenge him and thus fight on behalf of the oppressed people. But it is also clear from the story that no motivation of the kind could be attributed to Enkidu himself, who fights only to prove himself Gilgamesh's equal. For Sumerian "champions" see S. N. Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, pp. 11, 458-462, 476-478.

dence that a contest of hosts was thus avoided. Yet in other respects it is incontestable that Sinuhe's duel shows many similarities with David's.²

Not all instances of contests of champions were limited to two combatants. A general engagement of troops could also be avoided by the substitution of a contest of teams of champions. It appears that such was the case with the two teams of twelve men each who fought for David and Ishbaal at the pool of Gibeon in 2 Sm 2,12ff.³ When Abner proposed the combat of champions, he employed a euphemistic *terminus technicus* for such a contest with the words: "Let the young men arise and 'play' before us!" (2 Sm 2,14).^{3a} In this case, however, the contest ended in a draw with each man slaying his opponent, so that a general engagement of the armies ensued (vv. 16-17).

With the reclassification of the contests between Sinuhe and his Syrian foe and of Gilgamesh and Enkidu as duels we are left with all late bronze age and early iron age examples of contests of champions stemming from either Canaan or the western shores of Asia Minor (Troy).

Recently, while I was conducting an investigation of the Hittite Apology of Ḫattušiliš III, still another possible example of such a contest of champions came to my attention. The incident arose when the Hittites sought to check an incursion of enemy troops from the land of Pišḫuru, an area to the northeast of the lower Halys River in the territory of the unruly Kaškaean tribes.⁴ Pišḫuru formed the western boundary of the territory of Išḫupitta. Ḫattušiliš, who was at this time still not the reigning monarch of the Hittites but a general under the command of his older brother Muwatalliš, was dispatched with 120 chariots and no infantry to meet the invading force of 800 chariots and innumerable infantry (II 34-36). Against such odds it is difficult to believe that the Hittite forces could have triumphed, since an initial victory would have been necessary to raise the Kaškaean blockade of the Hittite cities (II 41-42). It is therefore possible that Ḫattušiliš exaggerates when he describes such overwhelming odds. But more on this question later. The text which immediately concerns us (II 31-47) may be translated as follows:⁵

² See for instance the remarks of D. W. Young, "Sinuhe," pp. 537-538 in *The Biblical World*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966; Lanczowski, *Mitteilungen der deutschen archäologischen Institut zu Kairo* 16 (1959) 214-218.

³ C. H. Gordon, *Homer and the Bible* (Ventnor, 1967), p. 51.

^{3a} Y. Sukenik, *JPOS* 21 (1948) 110-116.

⁴ On the location of Pišḫuru see A. Goetze, *Revue hittite* 1, pp. 25ff., Garstang & Gurney, *Geography of the Hittite Empire*, pp. 15 and 25, von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer*, p. 41, footnote 237.

⁵ For other translations see A. Götze, *Ḫattušiliš*, p. 19, and E. H. Sturtevant, *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, p. 71.

Now the Pišhuruwian enemy came (and) made an incursion, and (the cities of) Karaḥna (and) Marišta [were] in the midst of the enemy. On that side (the city of) Takkašta was (his) boundary, and on this side (the city of) Talmaliya was (his) boundary. (His) chariotry consisted of 800 teams, whereas for (his) infantry there was no counting. Yet my brother Muwatalliš sent me (to meet him), and he gave me 120 teams of chariotry, but as to infantry not even a single man was with me. My lady Ištar, however, marched before me. At that time I personally conquered the enemy. For when I slew the man who was the *piran ḫuyanša*, the (rest of the) enemy fled. Now the cities of the land of Ḫatti which had been blockaded joined in the attack and began to defeat the enemy. So I set up a victory stela⁶ in the city of Wištawanda, for at that time the recognition of Ištar my lady had been for me. And the weapon which I had held on that occasion I devoted(?) and set up before the goddess, my lady.

The portion of this passage which bears directly upon the question of contests of champions is lines 38 to 41, where Ḫattušiliš claims that he "personally conquered the enemy" by slaying the "man who was the *piran ḫuyanša*." The expression which I have translated as "personally" is written *IŠ-TU NÍ.TE-YA*, which would be normalized in Akkadian as *ištu ramāniya*.⁷ The Hittite phonetic normalization would be *ammel tueggaz*, "from/by means of my body." From the literal and concrete sense "body" the noun *tueggaš* was extended to include the notion of "person." From this expression alone it would be impossible to decide whether *ammel tueggaz* implied only that Ḫattušiliš led the attack in person (instead of delegating this job to a subordinate officer), or that he personally was responsible for the victory through his own fighting prowess as manifested in a single combat of champions. E. H. Sturtevant translates *ammel tueggaz* as "with my own resources," perhaps implying that other troops

⁶ The word is written with the Sumerogram ŠU, which normally means "hand." Götze translates this "die Streitmacht." Sturtevant renders it "trophy(?)." C. H. Gordon has pointed out that this strange usage of the Sumerogram for "hand" is neatly paralleled in the West Semitic sphere, where Hebrew *yād* means both "hand" and "victory stela" (*Before the Bible*, p. 93 and note 1, where the reference to the Apology of Ḫattušiliš should be corrected to "Apology 2:25 and 44"). In Sumerian and Akkadian neither ŠU nor *qātu(m)* are known to have this meaning of "victory stela." The Sumerogram ŠU with the meaning "stela" may also occur in the "Deeds of Suppiluliuma." In fragment 37 (*JCS* 10 [1956], p. 112), line 18 this broken passage occurs:]ŠU-an-na ku-in an-da x[, which Güterbock translates (*ibid.*): "and the trophy(?) which [. . .]." These matters have also been discussed briefly in the unpublished dissertation of my student H. M. Wolf, "The Apology of Ḫattušiliš Compared With Other Political Self-Justifications" (Brandeis University, Ph.D. dissertation, 1967), pp. 52 and 189 with footnote 139. For the Hebrew evidence compare 1 Chr 18,3, 1 Sm 15,12, and 2 Sm 18,18.

⁷ A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*, II, 399:185e; Götze, *Madduwattaš*, p. 132f.; Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, p. 287. See also the remarks of Otten (*Hethitische Totenrituale*, pp. 122-4) and A. Kammenhuber (*ZA* NF 22, pp. 153ff. and 167ff.).

were available to Ḫattušiliš besides those assigned to him by Muwatalliš.⁸ Götze renders it "aus eigener Kraft," which does not suggest auxillary troops.⁹ Neither or these scholars understood the phrase as implying the personal fighting of the author, yet this is surely the expected meaning of Akkadian *ištu ramāniya* and Hittite *ammel tueggaz*. The second crucial phrase is found in lines 39-40: LÚ^{LUM}-ma ku-iš pi-ra-an hu-u-i-ya-an-za e-eš-ta na-an-kán GIM-an ku-e-nu-un, which I have translated "but when I had slain the man who was the *piran huyanza*." Both Götze and Sturtevant interpret LÚ^{LUM}-ma kuiš as "whatever man (was a helper/ally)." But both translations were published before the consistent pattern for the distinguishing of determinate versus indeterminate relative clauses was established in 1957 by Warren H. Held in his dissertation *The Hittite Relative Sentence*, pp. 12ff. There it was shown that, when the relative pronoun precedes its antecedent (*kuiš-ma* LÚ^{LUM}), the construction is indeterminate ("whatever man . . ."), whereas when the antecedent noun precedes the relative pronoun (LÚ^{LUM}-ma *kuiš*), the construction is determinate ("that [particular] man who . . ."). Our passage is thus clearly determinate and must be rendered "when I slew *the* man who was the *piran huyanza*." When the indeterminate interpretation is rejected, one can no longer explain the singular LÚ^{LUM} (Akkadian *awilum* "man") as "whatever man," implying that there were several such men involved. It becomes necessary to explain why the singular LÚ^{LUM} (versus LÚ.MEŠ "men") is used. One might seek an explanation in an underlying collective noun such as Hittite *tuzziš* "army" or *antuhšatar* "group of men." The relative pronoun *kuiš* requires that the antecedent be a noun of common (versus neuter) gender, so that *antuhšatar* (which is neuter) is eliminated from consideration. The noun *tuzziš* (common gender) would still be possible on grammatical grounds, yet the normal logographic writing of *tuzziš* is either ERİN.MEŠ¹⁰ or KARAŠ.¹¹ There is no other passage in which it is represented by LÚ^{LUM}. In fact it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that LÚ^{LUM} indicates here as elsewhere only the word for "man" (either *antuhšaš*, which like Greek *anthrōpos* means actually "person," or the other Hittite noun concealed behind LÚ which means "male person" and whose phonetic spelling is at present unknown). But if this be so, then Ḫattušiliš claims only to have slain one man, and that the death of this one man so demoralized the rest of the enemy troops that they turned and fled. What kind of man might this have been? It is

⁸ *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, p. 71.

⁹ *Ḫattušiliš*, p. 19.

¹⁰ *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, p. 231 and 271.

¹¹ Hrozny, *Boghasköi-Studien* 2/3, p. 230, note 1; Götze, *Ḫattušiliš*, p. 122 sub KI.KAL.BAD.

possible that he was the commander-in-chief of the enemy troops. Yet it must be agreed that there are other terms in Hittite for a commander or general (EN.KARAŠ, *tapariyalliš*, etc.). *Piran ḫuyanša* literally means "one who runs/marches in front,"¹² which leads me to propose another solution. Could this man not have been a champion? If so, then his defeat would have meant total defeat for the enemy, and in order to escape being taken prisoners their only recourse would have been flight. Instructive in this regard is the passage in 1 Sm 17,51: "When the Philistines saw that their champion (*gibbôrām*) was dead, they fled."

Both in Greek and in Hebrew the words denoting the champion are descriptive of persons who have *gone out in front* of their own host in order to engage an opponent. The Greek technical term "to be a champion" is *promachizein* (*Iliad* 3:16; 20:376), of which the preverb *pro* signifies that he fights in a cleared area in front of the host. The Hebrew technical term (aside from the more general *gibbôr* "hero") is *ʾiš habbēnayim*, "man between two (armies)" (1 Sm 17,4),¹³ with which one should compare Ugaritic *iš bnny* "intermediary, umpire" and the occurrences at Qumrân, where it may designate "infantry." The Hittite term *piran ḫuyanša* likewise contains the preverb *piran* "in front" and could easily describe a warrior who fights in the front as a champion.

If this theory as to the identity of the *piran ḫuyanša* is correct, it might also help to explain the statistics of the troops involved in the encounter and how it happened that Ḫattušiliš' force which numbered only 120 chariots could put to flight a force of 800 chariots and innumerable infantry. Why would Ḫattušiliš be willing to risk his own life in individual combat unless the odds in a general engagement were not in his favor? On the other hand, if the enemy had a capable champion, they might well have consented to such a settlement. It is clear from other texts that the Hittites entertained the same concept of divine judgment by the ordeal of battle (*Apology of Ḫattušiliš*, III 71-73; *Annals of Muršiliš*, p. 99 KBo III 4:13-14) that was shared by the Hebrews (Jgs 11,27) and the Greeks.¹⁴ If they thus believed in divine judgment by battle on the mass level, it was probably also true that they believed divine judgment could have been revealed by single combat.

A fact which may also lend support to our interpretation that Ḫattušiliš' own military prowess resulted in victory on this occasion is that afterwards he devoted the weapon he carried on that day to the goddess:

¹² *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, p. 78.

¹³ See DeVaux, *Bib* 40 (1959) 497-498 and note 2.

¹⁴ O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, pp. 176-177; H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Samuelbücher*, p. 115.

^{G18}TUKUL-*ma kuin apiya harkun n-an hališšīyanun n-an šiuni išhaššari-mi piran tehhun*, "the weapon which I wielded then I (afterward) dedicated and placed it before the goddess my lady (i.e., in her sanctuary)." (*Apology of Hattušiliš*, II 46-47). In a similar fashion David the Hebrew placed in the sanctuary of Yahweh the sword of Goliath with which he had cut off the head of the enemy champion (1 Sm 21,8-9).

In summary, we have here one of the closest parallels known to date to the contest of champions as seen in the Greek and Hebrew sources. The proposed parallel in the Sinuhe story (see above) is not a true contest of champions but a duel.¹⁵ It would appear that such contests were at home on Canaanite and Greek soil, but also in Asia Minor, where, after all, the contests of the Achaeans and Trojans have their settings.¹⁶ Here as in other areas it would appear that the Hittites and their Bronze Age Anatolian neighbors were true mediators in the give and take between the Greek West and the West Semitic orient.

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¹⁵ Not properly distinguished by DeVaux, *op. cit.*, p. 502, who emphasizes similarities to 1 Sm 17 (the taunt, challenge and mode of fighting). But the threat was to Sinuhe, the intrusive Egyptian, not to the tribe which he led.

¹⁶ The question of the origin of this type of battle of representatives (Aegean, Anatolian, or West Semitic?) has not been resolved, despite the attempt of DeVaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 501-502 to prove early widespread Semitic and Egyptian usage. The appearance in later Arabia (and especially in Crusader times) can contribute very little to questions of origins. The earliest examples of true contest of champions (not duels) still appear to be in Western Asia Minor and along the Levantine coast.

ISAIAH 42,13

The translation of Isaiah 42,13 in the RSV may be taken as representative:

The Lord goes forth like a mighty man,
like a man of war he stirs up his fury;
he cries out, he shouts aloud,
he shows himself mighty against his foes.

By following the Masoretic punctuation, which divides the verse at *qin'â* 'fury,' the translators failed to preserve the basic poetic structure and metrical symmetry of the couplet, and thereby obscured the meaning and intention of the prophet. On the basis both of parallelism and meter, we



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Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Jul., 1968, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Jul., 1968), pp. 198-203

Published by: The University of Chicago Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/543535>

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BIRTH AND NAME-GIVING IN HITTITE TEXTS*

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THE subject of childbirth is touched upon in Hittite documents of various literary types. In the omen literature, which in Hatti is totally derivative from Mesopotamia, mentions of childbirth figure principally in the fragments of the *šumma izbu* series. In the historical literature the subject of childbirth has relevance chiefly in connection with the absence of a legitimate heir or to indicate the blessing of the gods on a royal marriage.¹ In the legal literature it is mentioned in connection with the provision for compensations due to the husband of a woman whom another man has caused to miscarry.² The prayers express the pious wishes of the royal couple for a large posterity (DUMU.MEŠ-*latar*) along with the other customary blessings: life, health, longevity, and vigor.³ The bits of proverbial wisdom scattered about in the prayers and protocols include the belief that the gods will not deny the wish of a "woman of the birth stool" (*ḥarnawaš* SAL).⁴ Rituals connected with the mythological cycles of Telepinuš and other disappearing gods are designed to avert barrenness and sterility on a mass level,⁵ while Luwian-authored rituals of a remedial type designed for individuals (such as the ritual of Paškuwattiš) were employed to relieve the frustrations of impotent males.⁶ On the distaff side Kizzuwatnean birth rituals such as that of Papanikriš or Kummanna prescribed apotropaic measures against evils consequent upon the sudden and ill-boding collapse of the birth stool or its attachments at the time of a woman's delivery.⁷ Other birth rituals, which were of Hattic origin judging from the deities invoked, detail for us the role of the midwife and her required equipment.⁸

The information from the mythological texts consists of small pericopes in the narratives describing the birth of important characters in the story, whether divine or human. So far all of these descriptions are to be found in the myths of Hurrian origin. Although Hattic myths such as Illuyankaš⁹ employ childbirth in their plots, all descriptions of the

* This article represents a condensation of one portion of a lengthy manuscript now being prepared by the author on the general subject of birth in Hittite texts.

¹ Letter of Puduḥepaš to Ramesses II (KUB XXI 38 i 59ff.; JCS, 17, 91-92), Testament of Ḥattušiliš I (KUB I 16 ii 47, = §8), Apology of Ḥattušiliš III (col. I, line 11), letter of Muwattalliš to Adad-nirāri (KUB XXIII 102 i 15).

² Hittite laws 17, 18, 77a, parallel series XVI, XVII. But compare also protocols for princes and lords (Heth. Dienst., pp. 24-25; A₁ ii 2 ff.), birth of livestock in Hittite law 176 (= II 61a).

³ KUB XXXIV 77 i 7 for example. See too the god who rears the suppliant since the day his mother bore him (KUB XXX 10 i 6 f.: prayer of Kantuziliš).

⁴ Discussed in connection with Hittite proverbs by Professor Goetze at the 1967 meeting of American Oriental Society in New Haven, Connecticut. The term also occurs in the inventory tablet KUB XXVI 66 iii 10-11, where we read: nu 1 MA.NA KÙ.BAB.BAR.A.NA SALḥar-na-wa-aš mLu-ul-lu-uš LÜpa-ti-liš pé-e-da-aš, "one mina of silver Lulluš, the patiliš-priest, carried to the expectant mother ('woman of the

bearing stool')."

SALḥar-na-wa-aš must not be read as Ḥar-na-wa-aš (personal name) because: (1) the genitive case-ending -as cannot be justified grammatically if it is anything other than the construction "he/she of the . . ." (Friedrich, *Heth. Elem.*², p. 123, par. 212), and (2) the presence of the LÜpatiliš in the immediate context indicates that we are dealing with a birth situation (see also Ehelolf, *OLZ*, 1929, col. 322 ff.; many occurrences in *Papanikri*, also KUB IX 22 *passim*; KBo IX 96 iv 6; as well as in unpublished birth rituals 27/i x + 6 and 1607/c i 2, both of which texts will be published in KBo XVII by Otten.

⁵ See Telepinuš Myth, first version, A i 14 ff.

⁶ Compare on this entire subject Hoffner, *JBL*, 85 (1966), 326-34.

⁷ Sommer and Ehelolf, *Das hethitische Ritual des Papanikri von Komana* (Bogh.-Studien, 10 [Leipzig, 1924]).

⁸ KUB XXX 29 i 1-20. The deities mentioned are: dUTU URUArinna (= Wurušemu), dḤalmašuišza (= Ḥanwašuit), dḤatepis, dKAL URUKaraha, dTelepinuš, dḤuzziyaš, and dMAḤ.

⁹ Account of birth of son to storm god and daughter of the poor man in KBo III 7 iii 4-5.

event are dispensed with. Some of the pericopes in Hurrian myths are much fuller in the information they provide than are others. Perhaps the fullest of all is the account of the birth of the two sons of Appuš. The text (KUB XXIV 8) states: "Appuš' wife became pregnant. The first and second months passed. The third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth months passed. The tenth month arrived, and Appuš' wife bore a son. The nurse lifted up the boy and set him on Appuš' knees. Appuš began to amuse the boy and to dandle him. To him he gave the 'sweet' name (of) Idaluš . . . Then a second time Appuš' wife became pregnant. The tenth month arrived, and the woman bore a son. The nurse lifted the boy, and he (Appuš) gave to him the name Handanza, (saying,) 'Let them call upon him the name Handanza!'"

The formal elements of this pericope are six in number: (1) the statement of conception, (2) the counting of the months of gestation, (3) the statement of birth, (4) the activity of the nurse, (5) the father's first holding and fondling of the child, and (6) the bestowal of the name. In a parallel instance—Kumarbiš' naming of Ullikummiš—the sixth and final section also includes a statement of the child's fate.¹⁰

In the account of Idaluš' birth all six components are present, but when the birth and name-giving of the second child, Handanza, are described, the author engages in abridgment.¹¹ Section 2 (the counting of months) is reduced to the mere mention of the tenth and final month of pregnancy. Section 4 includes the statement that the nurse lifted the boy, but omits her placing him on his father's knees. Section 5, the father's fondling of his new son, is entirely omitted. Such abridgments of stock formulas can be paralleled elsewhere in Hittite mythology. Another instance of this practice is to be found in the formula which occurs in the Kumarbiš cycle and in the tale of the Cow and the Fisherman. In its fullest form it reads: "He took a staff in (his) hand; on his feet he put the swift winds (as) shoes."¹² Twice this is abbreviated by omitting the words "swift winds,"¹³ and once by omitting the words "(as) shoes."¹⁴ Thus it is clear that the mythographer could exercise the liberty of telescoping standard formulas.

Let us now examine each of these formal components of the description in detail. Outside of the Appuš myth the counting of the months of pregnancy is found in the Tale of the Cow and Fisherman (where the cow's pregnancy is involved)¹⁵ and the Kumarbiš myth (where Kumarbiš, impregnated by swallowing Anuš' male member, counts the months of his own pregnancy).¹⁶ The total of ten months for a pregnancy is reached by utilizing lunar months of twenty-eight days. This amounts to a 280-day gestation period, which, as pointed out by Barnett and Imparati,¹⁷ was the legal duration of pregnancy in antiquity and even in modern times in Spanish, Italian, and French law.

The activity of the nurse (SAL. UMMEDA) raises the question of the meaning of this logogram in Hittite texts. In his translation of the Appuš myth Friedrich renders it "die Hebamme,"¹⁸ but in his *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* he is more cautious and suggests

¹⁰ Ullikummiš, 1st Tabl., A iii 10-25 (JCS, 5 [1951], 16-18). All subsequent citations of this myth are from Güterbock's JCS edition.

¹¹ KUB XXIV 8 + iii 11-14.

¹² Ullikummiš, 1st Tabl., A i 13-14: ŠU-za GIŠPA-an da-a-aš I-NA GİR.MEŠ-ŠU-ma-za KUŠE. SIR.ĤA-uš li-li-wa-an-du-uš IM.MEŠ-uš šar-ku-it.

¹³ ŠU-za GIŠPA-an da-a I-NA GİR.MEŠ-KA-ma-za KUŠE. SIR.ĤA-uš šar-ku-i (Ullikummiš, 1st Tabl., C ii 33-34, cf. A iii 5-6).

¹⁴ ŠU-za GIŠPA-an da-a I-NA GİR.MEŠ-KA-ma-za I]i-li-wa-an-za IM.MEŠ šar-ku (KUB XXIV 7 iii 65-66; Tale of Cow and Fisherman). There does not seem to be sufficient room to restore also KUŠE. SIR.ĤA-uš with Güterbock (JCS 6 (1952), 52).

¹⁵ KUB XXIV 7 iii 18-19.

¹⁶ KUB XXXIII 120 + i 45.

¹⁷ F. Imparati, *Le leggi ittite*, p. 203 with note 3; Barnett, *JJS*, 4:4 (1953), 184.

¹⁸ *ZA*, 49 (1950), 221 (line 4).

only "Wärterin, Kinderfrau, Amme."¹⁹ The Akkadian equivalent of SAL.UMMEDA is *tārītu*, a word which designates a child's nurse but not the midwife.²⁰ The activity of the UMMEDA in connection with births is described again in the Izi Bogh. lexical text KBo I 42 i 39, where unfortunately the Sumerian and Akkadian columns have not been preserved. On the basis of the acknowledged acrophonic principle of organization of the Sumerian column of IZI = *išātu* it is plausible to suppose that the Sumerian entry began with Á, as the preceding entries do. The space is adequate for one more large sign or perhaps two small ones following Á. It is possible that the signs to be restored are Á.UD.DU (i.e., Á.Ē) = (Akkadian) *tar-bu-tum* (or *le-qú-ú*).²¹ The Hittite column reads: UMMEDA-*za ku-iš DUMU-an kar-pa-an ħar-zi*, "nurse who has lifted a child." The first peculiarity of this phrase is that the text does not define the person by his/her *customary* activity (which would require the iterative *karpeškirizzi* or at least the present tense *karapzi*) but by what he/she *has completed* doing (perfect tense: *karpan ħarzi*). A second problem concerns the meaning of the verb *karp-* in this context. The basic meaning of *karp-* (with *-za*) is "to lift." But is this a mere physical lifting of the baby to his father's knee, or does it seek to express the chief function of the *tārītu*: "to raise, (or) rear"? The use of the perfect tense might tend to favor the latter idea. But the action of rearing a child is elsewhere universally described by the verb *šallanu*.²² Furthermore, in the Appus passage this very same verb and the ideogram are used for what seems to be a simple lifting of the child and placing him on his father's knees.²³ Nor will the terminology or grammar of the Appuš passage allow one to suppose that the UMMEDA takes the infant for a period of eight to ten days before returning him to the father for the naming ceremony. The description strongly implies that the name-giving is completed very shortly after the actual birth. Still another perplexing feature is the presence of the UMMEDA at the birth and the absence of the midwife (*ħašnupallas* or ^{SAL}ŠĀ.ZU).²⁴ This circumstance doubtless suggested to Friedrich that the UMMEDA represented the performer of the functions commonly ascribed to a midwife. But another solution is preferable, namely, that both midwives and nurse were present, as indeed in the description of Ullikummiš' birth, but the former are not mentioned in the Appuš passage. When Ullikummiš is born, it is the goddesses called *Gulšeš* and *Kunuštalluš* who act as the UMMEDA's. It is they who, after the midwives (*ħašnupalleš*) aid the mother in delivery, lift the child and place him on his father's knees. Thus the function of the UMMEDA at birth would be the presentation of the child to the father for name-giving.

Now the Hittite reading of UMMEDA is a complicated matter. From phonetic complements in *-ant-* Laroche adduced the equation UMMEDA = *ħarwant-*.²⁵ But in the Appuš passage the complement of the nominative singular is *-aš*. The *-za* which follows *-aš* is the reflexive particle required by the verb *karp-*. A nominative in *-aš* will not fit a nominal stem in *-ant-*. And since there is yet no attested **ħarwa-* on which an extension

¹⁹ Page 299.

²⁰ So it appears not only from the published dictionaries of Akkadian (e.g., Bezold, p. 63b) but also from an examination of the CAD files on *tārītu* carried out by the author while he was attending the *Rencontre assyriologique* in Chicago in August 1967.

²¹ A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*, II, 604, sign 334:141; see also Von Soden, *AHW*, p. 544b *sub leqú*, "adopted child." Perhaps the Hittite scribe interpreted *le-qú-ú* as *leqú*, "he who adopts (takes) the child."

²² *Ullikummiš*, 1st Tabl., A iv 14-15; KUB XXX 10 i 6; KUB VI 45 iii 29; etc.

²³ KUB XXIV 8 + iii 4-5.

²⁴ ^{SAL}ŠĀ.ZU is probably an abbreviated writing of ^{SAL}ŠĀ.AB.ZU (= Akkad. *šabsūtu*) Von Soden, *Afo*, 18 (1957), 119-21, Van Dijk, *ZA*, 55 (1963), 77, note 14, and on which see Hallo, *JAOS*, 87:1 (1967), 64. That Hittite *SALħašawaš* also denotes the midwife is unlikely.

²⁵ *OLZ*, 1956, col. 421.

harwant- could be based, we must posit here an entirely different word, an *a*-stem common gender noun, as a second reading of UMMEDA. In the IZI = *išātu* passage discussed above ²⁶ since the *-za* of the complement is again required to be the reflexive particle with *karpan harzi*, the underlying Hittite word here was probably this same *a*-stem noun.

The UMMEDA places the child on his father's knees, a gesture which—though doubtless also a practical one—may have symbolic overtones of official recognition as legitimate son and heir.²⁷ In the account of the birth of Ullikummiš it is the deities called *Gulšeš* and *Kunuštalluš* who pick up the child and place him on Kumarbi's knees.²⁸ These are fate deities. Like the Egyptian Hathors they are on hand to declare the child's destiny. Kumarbi plays with the child²⁹ and then proceeds to give him a "sweet name" (line 14).

We encounter here an expression the meaning of which is not altogether clear. For the words "sweet name" (*šanezzi laman*) are applied to the names *Ullikummiš*³⁰ and *Idaluš*,³¹ neither of which are "sweet" or "pleasant" in the normally accepted meanings of these words. It might be argued that, since we do not yet know the meaning of the name *Ullikummiš*, it is premature to say that it could not have contained a pleasant overtone. While this could be true, we do know the meaning of the name *Idaluš*. It means "bad (person)" or "evil (person)."³² If it could be shown that the Hittites or Hurrians followed the custom of giving to every person both a long (or formal) name or two or more elements as well as an abbreviated, familiar name (German "Kosenamen"), then it might be argued that Hittite *šanezzi laman*—like the Egyptian *rn nfr* "fair name"³³—was the *terminus technicus* for this familiar, or affectionate name. But it appears that neither the Hittites nor the Hurrians followed this pattern, which is not only attested for ancient

²⁶ KBo I 42 i 39.

²⁷ Compare also *Ullikummiš*, 1st Tabl., A iv 9–10 (the Isirrus place Ullikummiš on the knees of Enlil), and in the unpublished birth ritual 2032/c obv. 18–19: *a-pé-el-ma-aš-ši-kán ar-ḫa da-a-aḫ-ḫi nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an DUMU-an ge-nu-wa-aš-ša-aš te-eh-ḫi*, "I take his/hers away from her and place the child upon her/his knees." Also in a broken passage from a letter: *ge-nu-wa-aš a-še-ša-nu-ut* (KUB XXIII 97 iii 3). The verbs used with *genu* in these constructions are *dai-* (with *-šan*), *ḫalai-*, and *ašeššanu-*. Related to the constructions with *genu*, "knee," are those with *úr*, "bosom(?)": *na-an-za-kán úr-ši da-a-iš* (in the Tale of the Cow and the Fisherman, KUB XXIV 7 iv 40, where in the other descriptions one finds the expression with *genu*), and restored from this latter passage the Annals of Hattusilis I lines: *nu-mu-za-kán dUTU URU A-ri-in-na I-NA úr-ši da-a-iš* *nu-mu* [ŠU-za e-ep-ta nu]-mu MĒ-ya pi-ra-an ḫu-u-wa-a-iš (KBo X 2 i 28–30), where the Hittite ruler is "legitimate heir" of the sun-goddess of Arinna. Since Sumerian *úr* has a similar range of meaning to Hebrew *ḥēq*, it is possible to add Ruth 4:16 to the group of Old Testament passages in which placing a child on one's knees symbolizes recognition as legitimate child and heir (see also Gen. 30:3; 50:23; Job 3:12). To Isa. 66:12 may be compared *kunkeškiwan daiš* in the Appuš story. For Homeric Parallels see Iliad IX: 453–56 (and J. Muhly, *JAOS*, 85 (1965), 586–87, who cites it). For Akkadian parallels see *CAD*, B, p. 256b *birkū* sub 2.

²⁸ *Ullikummiš*, 1st Tabl., A iii 10–12.

²⁹ Compare Isa. 66:12. Both KUB XXIV 8 iii 5 ff. and *Ullikummiš*, 1st Tabl., A iii 12 ff. employ the

sequence *duškiškiwan daiš* and *kunkeškiwan daiš*. See also KUB XXIV 7 iv 39–40, where the fisherman dandles the child of the sun-god and the cow. *Duškešk-* with *-za* seems transitive here ("to amuse, entertain"), as also in KUB XVII 35 i 33, ii 26, iii 8; KUB XXIX 1 iii 4.

³⁰ *Ullikummiš*, 1st Tabl., A iii 14.

³¹ KUB XXIV 8 iii 7.

³² The question of the Hittite reading of the name LÚ.ḪUL is quite involved. The LÚ is probably not a determinative but part of the logogram (compare LÚ.KUR = *kurur* "hostile"). Furthermore, there is some evidence that this logogram LÚ.ḪUL was also read *ḫuwappaš* (synonym of *idaluš*) in that myth: col. III, line 9 LÚ.ḪUL-tu KASKAL-an has the variant ḪUL-pa-an KASKAL-an. Compare also the nominative singulars LÚ.ḪUL-as ŠEŠ-as (not "brother *Idaluš*," but "the wicked brother"! in col. IV, lines 4, 8, 21, 24, and 28. And finally, the question must be answered in view of the fact that Hittite avoids the use of common-gender adjectives as substantives. Neuters, on the other hand, are quite common. *Idalu* means "the evil thing; evil (as abstract)." *Aššu* means "the good thing; goods (= possessions)." But the common-gender adjectives appear either as attributes of an expressed substantive or as predicate adjectives. Their use as independent, substantivized forms is extremely rare, *kururaš*, "enemy," being one example.

³³ In Egypt the long (or formal) name was called *rn* ³, while the short name was *rn nfr* (Erman-Ranke, *Ägypten und Ägyptisches Leben*,² p. 187).

Egypt but also for Greece.³⁴ The safest course, therefore, would appear to be to understand *šanezzi* as a stylized or stock epithet which no longer preserves its literal meaning and often seems superfluous.³⁵ Comparable examples (many of them also from Hurrian myths) are *šanezziš šaša*, "sweet sleep" (when only "sleep" is intended),³⁶ *ḥappiraš šanezziš*, "sweet town,"³⁷ *šanezziš waršulaš*, "sweet odor,"³⁸ *šanezziš tešhaš*, "sweet sleep,"³⁹ *šanezziš zuwaš*, "sweet food,"⁴⁰ and *šanezziš ḥalugaš*, "sweet message."⁴¹

In the mythological texts the name itself is selected on one of two bases: (1) a peculiar circumstance or happening connected with the birth, or (2) some aspect of the child's appearance, character, or destiny. A good illustration of the first criterion can be found in the musings of Kumarbi as he prepares to name Ullikummiš: "what name shall I give him, the child whom the *Gulšeš* and the *Kunuštalluš* have given me? Forth from the body like a *šiyatal* he sprang. Let his name henceforth⁴² be Ullikummiš!"⁴³ Although it might seem plausible to identify the second half of the name Ullikummiš with the city name Kummiya⁴⁴ and thus to suggest a connection between the name and the father's wish that the child crush Kummiya,⁴⁵ yet the above context makes it clear that Kumarbi is guided in his choice of the name rather by the circumstance that at birth the child sprang forth from the body like a *šiyatal* (perhaps a "blade"⁴⁶).⁴⁷ The names of the boys Idaluš and Ḥandanza also seem to have been chosen because of circumstances in their respective births. For Appuš says as he names them: "At what time . . . the gods did not take the right way, they took the wrong way (LÚ.ḪUL-lu KASKAL-an). So let him have the name Idaluš ('wrong' or 'evil') . . . (and after Ḥandanza's birth:) Now the gods have taken the just/right way, so let him henceforth⁴² have the name Ḥandanza ('just' or 'right')!"⁴⁸ In the words "wrong way" we may see a critical allusion to the advice given to Appuš by Ištanuš: "Go, get drunk, sleep well with your wife, and she will bear." So far as we are informed by the text, no such method was necessary in the second impregnation of Appuš' wife. But again, as in the case of the name Ullikummiš, we can see how apt are the names Idaluš and Ḥandanza as designations of the character and destiny of each of the two boys. Idaluš is wicked and apparently is to be condemned by the gods in the end, whereas Ḥandanza is just and meets a happy fate.⁴⁹ The employment of birth

³⁴ Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* . . . , XVI, 2; cols. 1611-35 (under "Namenwesen").

³⁵ Hence, the exact translation of *šanezzi*- ("sweet-tasting," is conveyed also by *maliddu*- and *mitgaimi*-, but "pleasant, agreeable, or first-class" are possible translations of *šanezzi*-) is not at issue here. We are dealing rather with a technique similar to the stock epithets of Homer (i.e., "white-armed (Hera)," "sandy (Pylos)," "wine-red (sea)," etc.).

³⁶ KUB XVII 1 i 15.

³⁷ *Ullikummiš*, 1st Tabl., A iii 20, iv 27, E2 iii 11.

³⁸ KUB XXXIII 89 +, 13-14; Telepinuš 1st vers., A ii 7; KUB XXIV 1 i 10.

³⁹ KUB XXX 10 ii 18; KUB XXXVI 89 ii 57; 90 i 6.

⁴⁰ KUB XIII 4 iv 67, 71.

⁴¹ KUB XXXIII 89 +, 12.

⁴² I see no reason to translate *paiddu* in these instances as "let him go!" Rather the form seems to be a rather specialized manner of indicating futurity for the verb forms which follow it in sequence.

⁴³ *Ullikummiš*, 1st Tabl., A iii 16 ff.

⁴⁴ For the interpretation of *Ullikummiš* as "Enlil of Kummiya" see E. Laroche, *Recherches*, p. 62.

⁴⁵ I have long been inclined myself to etymologize *Ullikummiš* as "enemy" (Hurrian and Urartian *uli*- "other, stranger"; Messerschmidt, 90; König, *Handbuch der chaldäischen Inschriften*, p. 207; *HWb*, p. 326; compare *ulluḫuggu*- "hostile[?]" in *JAOS*, 59, 301; *HWb*, p. 326) of Kummiya," but I now no longer accept this approach to the name for the reasons given in the body of this article.

⁴⁶ Güterbock, *JCS*, 6 (1952), 54. But see also Hoffner, *English-Hittite Glossary* (= *RHA* f. 80 [1967]), 19-20, note 3.

⁴⁷ I can only understand the sequence of tenses: preterite (*watut*) > imperative (*paiddu*, *ešdu*, *tamaš-du*) as expressing logical consequence. The monster derives both his name and his destiny logically from the circumstance that at birth he "sprang forth from the body like a blade." The other explanation violates the grammatical structure of this passage.

⁴⁸ KUB XXIV 8 +, iii 8-10, 15-16.

⁴⁹ That the gods will ultimately exalt Ḥandanza seems evident not only from the trend of this tale itself, but also from the aphorism found in a solar

circumstances in the selection of the name also accords with the time of name-giving, at best only a few minutes after birth. Stamm has argued⁵⁰ about Akkadian names that those prompted by birth circumstances must have been given while the memory of the event was still fresh in the father's mind. Compare the Old Testament Hebrew names Jacob (*Ya^aqōb*, "he seizes by the heel," Gen. 25:26) and Perez (Gen. 38:29).

Now there is nothing unusual about parents in ancient times using these two criteria to name their children. In fact these same patterns have been detected in name-giving as practiced in Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. What *is* unusual is that these criteria *do not* seem to have been employed by Hittite parents in verifiable historical instances. After making a thorough study of the names of historical personages collected by E. Laroche in his *Les noms hittites* I have found only a handful of cases where it is linguistically possible to interpret the name as a reference either to a circumstance of birth or to any kind of physical or character trait. In fact a large number of the names borne by historical personages in Hittite Asia Minor were simply chosen because they were conventional and popular. Their bearers did not understand their meanings any more than the average American girl today knows the etymology of the names Karen, Deborah, or Elaine. We are dealing here then with a clear cleavage between the actual naming practices of the mid second millennium in Anatolia and the patterns for name-giving alone acceptable in the myths. If one examines the other names borne by characters in the Hurrian and Hattic myths, one will discover that most (if not all) fall into this special category. To be sure, a good number of the characters in the myths are identified without recourse to names (the "daughter of a poor man,"⁵¹ the "son of the storm god,"⁵² the "fisherman,"⁵³ the "fisherman's wife,"⁵⁴ etc.). Another large proportion are identified with names which are only appellatives: Illuyankaš is simply the noun "serpent."⁵⁵ Ullikummiš is sometimes referred to simply as *Kunkunuzziš* "the Basalt"⁵⁶ or even more simply as *Perunaš* "the Stone."⁵⁷ Other names, such as Hedammuš, being Hurrian may yet prove to be simple appellatives.

All of this suggests that, when we read the mythological texts, we are in a milieu which is quite different from that of the historical texts. Whether or not the ceremonies described in connection with birth and name-giving in these myths can be presumed to have any similarity with the procedures followed by historical parents in second-millennium Asia Minor, they are worthy of study if only from a stylistic point of view. Some such studies have already been carried out by the writer and will appear in print in the near future. Others have been made by the writer's former student, Dr. Bert DeVries, and included in the latter's 1967 Brandeis University dissertation "The Style of Hittite Mythological Texts" (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms). More can and should be done in this area. For the rewards are great in the study of what constituted the epic or mythological style in the literatures of the East Mediterranean basin.

hymn: "the just person (N.B.: *ḥandanza-kan antuḥšaš*, not simply *ḥandanza*; see above in note 32) is dear to you, and you are letting him win (*šarliškiš*)" (Güterbock, *JAOS*, 65 [1945], 239; KUB XXXI 127 i 9-111).

⁵⁰ J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, p. 9.

⁵¹ KUB XII 66 iii 4 (Illuyankaš).

⁵² DUMU dIM in KBo III 7 iii 25.

⁵³ KUB XXIV 7 iv *passim* (Tale of Cow and Fisherman). There is, of course, just an outside chance that this man's name was "Mr. Fisher" (see mNU.

KIRI₆ "Mr. Gardener" in many colophons: KBo XV 28 i 2, ii 5; VBoT 24 iv 38; etc.).

⁵⁴ KUB XXIV 7 iv 47.

⁵⁵ KUB XVII 1 ii 12; KUB XXIV 7 iii 70; etc.

⁵⁶ The *kunkunuzzi* variety of stone was valued for its properties of hardness (*ḥazziul*), and was the mill-stone par excellence. Thus it was probably basalt (as suggested first by Otten, *Beschwörung des Unterirdischen*, *ZANF* 20 [1961], 153).

⁵⁷ *Ullikummiš*, 1st Tabl., A iv 30 and *passim*.



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Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Oct., 1969, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Oct., 1969), pp. 225-230

Published by: The University of Chicago Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/543289>

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JOURNAL OF
Near Eastern Studies

OCTOBER 1969 • VOLUME 28 • NUMBER 4

EIGHTY-SIXTH YEAR

ON THE USE OF HITTITE -ZA IN NOMINAL
SENTENCES

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THE question of the origin and meaning of the Hittite particle -z or -za has engaged the best minds in Hittitology from the first. A virtually complete survey of the literature can be found in J. Friedrich's *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*,¹ so that it is only needful here to mention some of the scholars who have made significant contributions to the understanding of the particle's function. In chronological order of first contribution they were: Hrozný, Ungnad, Sommer, Götze, Friedrich, and Pedersen.

Among the many uses of this particle one may make a primary division between those occurring in verbal sentences and those occurring in nominal sentences.² Most of the investigations of -za to date have been primarily concerned with the former category. In consequence little is known today of the rules governing the occurrence or non-occurrence of -za in the nominal sentence. Thus Friedrich writes in his *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* (2d ed., 1960): "-za steht auch in Nominalsätzen . . . aber unregelmässig; die genauen Bedingungen sind noch nicht gefunden."³ In a recent essay (1967) F. Josephson has attempted to explain the conditions for the employment of -za in nominal sentences and its contribution to the meaning, as follows: "Our translation is motivated by the common use of reflexive pronoun with the verb *eš* 'to be' and in nominal clauses, mostly with indication of an inherent quality or for identification and also with indication of rank or status."⁴ One is impressed and puzzled by the diversity in the meanings

¹ The following literature is cited: Hrozný, *Sprache der Hethiter* (Leipzig, 1917), pp. 96, 98, 136, 185; Ungnad, *ZDMG*, 74 (1920), 417-22; F. Sommer, *Hethitisches II (Boghazköi-Studien, VII)* [1922], 18² and 39²; Götze, *Arch. Or.*, 5 (1933), 3-16; Götze-Pedersen, *Mursilis' Sprachlähmung* (1934), pp. 38-40, 80-83; J. Friedrich, *OLZ*, 1936, cols. 306-10; Pedersen, *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachvergleichung* (1938), p. 60; Sommer, *HAB* (1938), 38, pp. 114⁴, 178. A few observations on the orthographic representation and the uses of -z(a) in the Hittite laws can be found in O. Carruba, V.

Souček, and R. Sternemann, *Arch. Or.*, 33 (1965), 8-10. But since, as this article demonstrates, -za is not found in nominal sentences in Old Hittite, no cases will be found in the laws or in the last mentioned article by Carruba *et al.*

² As will be evident to the reader who examines the evidence presented here, the criteria governing the use of -za in nominal sentences are quite of a different order from those governing its use in sentences containing verbs other than "to be."

³ *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* (2d ed., 1960), p. 133.

⁴ *RHA*, 81 (1967), 134.

thus attributed to the particle. For what do "inherent quality," "identification," and "rank or status" share other than the obvious fact that these are all possible predicates in a nominal sentence? Furthermore, this theory cannot adequately explain the occurrence of *-za* in nominal sentences with an adverbial predicate, such as: *nu-za ma-a-an* HUR.SAG-*i nu-za ma-a-an ú-e-el-lu-ú-i nu-za ha-a-ri-ya ku-wa-pi-it-za im-ma ku-wa-pi*, "if you are in the mountain, if you are in the meadow, (if) you are in the valley, or wherever you are" (IX 27 + i 40-42; see further below). An inherent quality is something permanent, a rank or status something temporary, and an identification could be either. Such a definition of the conditions for the use of *-za* in the nominal sentence is, therefore, unsatisfactory.

I believe that the conditions are much simpler and have nothing significant to contribute to the "meaning" of the nominal sentences in which the particle occurs. The determining factor is the person of the subject. One can state the rule at the outset as follows. *If the subject of the nominal sentence is a first or second person pronoun (either explicit or implied), the sentence will contain -za.* The only admitted exceptions are to be found in Old Hittite, where this rule was not yet in force.⁵

Before proceeding to the first set of examples let us keep in mind the complementary distribution (mutual substitutability) of *-za* and the oblique enclitic pronoun which corresponds in person and number with the subject of the sentence.⁶ We shall see that the conditions for the use or non-use of this enclitic pronoun in the nominal sentence are the same as those which govern the occurrence of *-za*.

Since equational sentences with and without the verb "to be" (*eš-*) behave in the same way on this point, I shall include examples of both types. First, equational sentences with nominal or pronominal subject, nominal predicate, and the verb "to be" expressed: *am-mu-uk-ma-za pa-ra-a ha-an-da-a-an-za ku-it* UKÜ-*aš e-šu-un*, "but because I was a favored person" (Apology of Hattušiliš, I 46);⁷ *Pa-ap-pa-aš* LÜ-*u-ri-an-ni-iš e-eš-ta*, "Pappaš was the *uriyanniš*" (KBo III 34 obv i 5);⁸ *ki-i kar-di-y[a⁹-aš-ša-a]*š DUMU.MEŠ *e-še-er*, "these were his favorite sons" (KBo III 34 iii 17). Note that *-za* is used when the subject is a first person pronoun but not when the subject is a third person pronoun or its equivalent. Since, however, the last two examples are taken from an Old Hittite text, it will be necessary to examine further cases in order to establish the argument.

Second, equational sentences with nominal or pronominal subject, adjectival or participial predicate, and the verb "to be" expressed: [*am-m*]u-*uk-ma-za nu-u-wa* TUR-*aš e-šu-un*, "but I was still a child (or 'small'¹⁰)" (XIX 29 i 10); *nu-za ku-it-ma-an nu-u-wa* TUR-*aš e-šu-un* (Apology of Hattušiliš, I 12); *nu-za* 4UTU^{š1} *a-pé-e-ez li-in-ki-*

⁵ While failing to discern the true conditions for the particle's occurrence in the later stages of the language, Josephson does observe that "it is absent especially in the older language" (RHA, 81, 135). We may be more precise and emphatic than he and affirm that it is *never* used in the nominal sentence in Old Hittite.

⁶ Friedrich, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-33.

⁷ Citations of the text which we shall call the "Apology of Hattušiliš" are taken from the edition by A. Götze, *MAeG*, 29/3 (1925) with occasional corrections from A. Götze, *MAeG*, 34/2 (1930) and E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (Philadelphia, 1935).

⁸ Cited by Josephson in *RHA*, 81, 135, but with incorrect transliteration (LÜ-*u-ri-an-ni-iš*).

⁹ Transliterate so, not *kar-di-[ia-aš-ša-aš]* with Josephson, *loc. cit.* The edition shows clear traces of what appears to be the *-y[a-* and thus accords with the somewhat "younger" spelling of I 16 ii 53 as against the older spelling *kar-di-aš-ta-aš* (without the glide) attested in the Illuyankaš Myth (KBo III 7 i 26) and found also in other portions of this very same text (LÜ-*u-ri-an-ni-iš* in KBo III 34 i 5 instead of *LÜ-*u-ri-an-ni-iš*).

¹⁰ We read TUR-*aš*, not DUMU-*aš*, because it is not his filiation but his age which Hattušiliš stresses.

ya-az A-NA PA-NI DINGIR.MEŠ pá-r-ku-iš e-eš-li-it, “then let me, the emperor, in the presence of the gods be free from that oath!” (KBo V 3 iv 32);¹¹ *TI-an-za-wa-za e-eš*, “be alive!” (XXXIII 106 iii 7; but cf. *ibid.* iii 27 without *-za*¹²); *nu-za ha-li-ya-aš ud-da-ni-i me-ek-ki pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-wa-an-te-eš e-eš-ten*, “so be ye very vigilant concerning the matter of the night watch!” (XIII 4 ii 80–81);¹³ also with the oblique personal pronoun: *nu-uš-ma-aš ú-wi-te-na-aš na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš e-eš-ten*, “so be ye afraid with regard to¹⁴ the (king’s drinking-) water!” (XIII 3 iii 22).¹⁵ Note that all cases with *-za* or the oblique enclitic pronoun exhibit a first or second person subject. Third person subjects in similar clauses do not take *-za*: *na-aš-kán ŠÀ DINGIR.MEŠ A-NA ʾIŠTAR URUŠa-mu-ḥa na-aḥ-ḥa-an-za e-eš-du*, “so let him be one who shows special reverence to Ištar of Šamuḥa among the gods!” (Apology of Ḫattušiliš, IV 88–89).

Third, equational sentences with nominal or pronominal subject, nominal or adjectival predicate, and no verb “to be” expressed: *am-mu-uk-ma-za ʾPu-du-ḥé-pa-aš an-na-al-li-iš GEMÉ-KA*, “I, Puduḥepaš, am your long-standing maidservant” (XXI 27 i 7); *am-mu-uq-qa-za ʾPu-du-ḥé-pa-aš ḥar-na-a-wa-aš MÍ-za*, “I, Puduḥepaš, am a woman of the birthstool”¹⁶ (XXI 27 ii 17); *an-za-a-aš-ma-wa-an-na-aš ʾIR.MEŠ ʾUTUŠI-pát*, “we are the emperor’s slaves too” (KBo V 11 iv 23); [*MÍ-a*] *n-za-wa-za MÍ-ni-li-ya-az zi-ik*, “you are a woman and of womanly disposition” (XXIV 8 + i 36);¹⁷ *zi-ik-za ku-iš*, “who are you?” (KBo V 11 iv 23); *zi-ig-qa-za ku-iš DINGIR LIM-iš*, “what kind of god are you?” (XXXIII 86 + ii 12);¹⁸ *zi-ga-az ʾIŠḥa-tal-kiš-na-aš ḥa-mi-eš-ḥi-ya-az B̄B̄BARṬI wa-aš-ša-[ši] EBUR-ma-az iš-ḥar-wa-an-d[a w]a-aš-ša-ši*, “you are¹⁹ the white thorn; in spring you wear white, in fall you wear red” (XXXIII 54 + ii 13–14). In Old Hittite the *-za* is not employed in this construction: *mar-sa-an-za-wa zi-ik* (KBo III 34 ii 20). The language of the solar hymn (XXXI 127 +)²⁰ is also archaic in this respect: *ne-pi-ša-aš ták-na-aš-ša ḥu-u-la-le-eš-ni zi-ik-pát ʾUTU-uš la-lu-ki-ma-aš* (“in the circle of heaven and earth you only, O Ištanuš, are the luminary”) . . . *ḥa-an-da-a-an-za ma-ni-ya-aḥ-ḥa-ya-aš iš-ḥa-a-aš zi-ik da-an-ku-wa-ya-aš KUR-e-aš at-ta-aš an-na-aš zi-ik* (“you are a just lord of judgment, father and mother of the dark earth are you”) . . . *ḥa-an-né-eš-na-aš iš-ḥa-a-aš zi-ik* (“lord of judgment are you”) . . . *ʾUTU-uš dam-me-iš-ḥa-an-da-aš ku-ri-im-ma-ša an-tu-uḥ-ḥa-aš at-ta-aš an-na-aš zi-ik* (“O Ištanuš, you are father and mother of the oppressed and lonely man”) (XXXI 127 + i 14–15, 20–21, 24, 35–36). With a second person plural subject: *an-da-ma-za šu-ma-aš ku-i-e-eš LÚ.MEŠ É.DIN-GIR LIM*, “but ye who are temple servants” (XIII 4 ii 59); *šu-um-me-eš-ma-aš ku-i-e-eš*

¹¹ Treaty of Šuppiluliumaš I with Ḫukkanaš of Ḫayaša. Edition by J. Friedrich, *Heth. Staatsverträge*, II (MVAEG 34/1, 1930), 103–63.

¹² Cited by Josephson, *RHA*, 81 (1967), 135.

¹³ Sturtevant and Bechtel, *op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

¹⁴ Both *uwitenaš* (plur.) and *uddani* (sg.) in the preceding examples are datives and must be rendered “in regard to” or “concerning” (Friedrich, *Heth. Elementarbuch*, p. 121).

¹⁵ ANET, p. 207.

¹⁶ On this expression see Hoffner, *JNES*, 27 (1968), 198⁴.

¹⁷ The repetition of *-za* in this phrase shows that we are dealing with a double predicate: *MÍ-anza-wa-za MÍ-ni-li-a-z zik*.

¹⁸ In Latin a formal distinction exists between the interrogative pronoun (*quis, quid*, “who?”) and the interrogative adjective (*quī, quae, quod* “which?”).

This formal distinction does not exist in Hittite, where *kuis* and *kuid* can be employed as interrogative pronoun (“who?” “what?”) or adjective (“which?”).

¹⁹ The repetition of *-az* (= *-za*) in *zi-ga-az* and *ḥa-mi-es-ḥi-ya-az* makes it impossible to translate: “You, O white thorn, wear . . .”

²⁰ On this hymn consult the fundamental study by H. G. Güterbock *JAOS*, 78 (1958), 237 ff. As regards the age of the solar hymn, Professor Güterbock has already demonstrated that the portion from which my examples have been taken may be traced back to the period of Kantuzziliš, i.e., just before the beginning of the Amarna Age (*ibid.*, pp. 238 and 242). While this does not entitle us to call it Old Hittite, it gives a firm basis for explaining this apparent archaism as a carry-over from the pre-imperial period into the first generation of the empire.

LÚ.MEŠ SAG, “ye who are grandees” (XXVI 1 i 6; also *ibid.* iii 45; but cf. *ibid.* iii 61 without *-šmaš*²¹). In the older language neither the *-za* nor the *-šmaš* was required: LÚ.MEŠ *IL-KI-wa šu-me-eš*, “you are men bound to render the *ILKU*-tax” (Hittite laws §55). An understanding of the conditions for the occurrence of *-za* or the oblique enclitic pronouns in nominal sentences can occasionally help in identifying the subject, when it is unexpressed: *nu-za ma-a-an pár-ku-wa-a-e-eš*, “if you are pure” (XIII 4 iv 53);²² *ták-ku-za pa-ap-ra-an-te-eš-ma*, “but if ye are impure” (XIII 4 iv 54);²² *ma-an-wa-za ša-a-an-te-eš*, “if ye are angry” (XV 32 i 46); *am-mu-uk-ma-wa-kán 1-EN HAL-ŠÍ ku-in da-li-ya-at nu-wa-za ŠA 1-EN HAL-ŠÍ LUGAL-uš 1?-aš*, “I alone am king of the one fortress which he left to me” (Apology of Hattušiliš, III 70–71); *in-na-ra-u-wa-aš-ma-aš da-a-ri-ya-an-te-eš KUR.KUR.MEŠ URUHa-at-ti-ma-wa hu-u-ma-an-da 1ŠTAR A-NA mHa-at-tu-ši-li EGIR-an-da ne-eš-hu-un*, “on your own (*innara*) ye (oblique *-šmaš* for *-za*) are weak (*dariyanteš*²³), but I, Ishtar, have turned all of the Hittite lands after Hattušiliš” (Apology of Hattušiliš, IV 21–23);²⁴ and even in the nominal sentence with adverbial predicate: *nu-za ma-a-an HUR.SAG-i nu-za ma-a-an ú-e-el-lu-ú-i nu-za ha-a-ri-ya ku-wa-pi-it-za im-ma ku-wa-pi*, “if you are in the mountain, (if) you are in the meadow, (if) you are in the valley, or wherever you are” (IX 27 + i 40–42). It is the presence of *-za* in these sentences which requires that they be not translated with third person subjects.

In all nominal sentences with third person subjects neither *-za* nor the oblique enclitic pronouns are employed: *ku-it-wa wa-aš-túl-ti-it*, “what is your sin?” (XXIV 8 i 45); *ku-iš-wa-ra-aš a-ši DUMU-aš*, “who is he, this child?” (Song of Ullikummiš, 1st Tablet A iv 14);²⁵ *ki-i-wa ku-it*, “what is this?” (KBo VI 34 i 30); *nu ku-iš ta-a-an pé-e-da-aš DUMU-RU*, “he who is a second-rank son” (BoTU 23A ii 37); *nu ku-iš TUR.MÍ ha-an-te-ez-zi-iš*, “then she who is a first-rank daughter” (BoTU 23A ii 38); *A-NA A-BI-YA-ma-aš mMur-ši-DINGIR LÍ . . . DUMU NIN-ŠU A-NA 1UTUŠI-ma-aš a-an-ni-in-ni-ya-mi-iš*, “to my father, Muršiliš, he is a nephew, but to (me,) the emperor he is a cousin” (XXI 1 iii 34–36); *MU.KAM-za-wa-ta še-er te-e-pa-u-e-eš-ša-an-za*, “the year is too short for you (literally, ‘the year is short upon you’)” (KBo IV 4 iii 24; AM 124); *e-ku-na-ša-aš na-aš Ú-UL g[e-en-zu-wa-la-aš]*, “he is cold; he is not tender-hearted” (I 16 ii 7); *ták-ku dan-na-at-ta-an-ma*, “but if it (the vineyard) is bare” (Hittite laws 107); *mi-iš-ri-wa-an-za hu-u-ma-an-da-az-za aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za*, “(she was) beautiful and endowed with every (charm)” (XXXIII 121 ii 5–6); *pár-ku-i-ša-aš a-pa-a-aš mi-iš-ri-wa-an-za a-pa-a-aš har-ki-ša-aš a-pa-a-aš na-aš hu-u-ma-an-da-az a-ša-nu-wa-an-za*, “she is pure, she is beautiful, she is fair, and she is endowed with every (charm)” (KBo IV 6 i 13–14). No *-za* is to be found either in the nominal sentences with third person subjects unexpressed: *al-wa-an-za-tar*, “(it is) sorcery” (Hittite laws §45); *DI.KUD LUGAL*, “(it is) a case for the king” (Hittite laws §45); *hu-u-ur-ki-il*, “(it is) an abomination” (Hittite laws §195). Note, however, that all three examples just cited are Old Hittite.

²¹ Josephson, *RHA*, 81 (1967), 134–35.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ That the verbal base *d/tariya-* has a meaning something like “to exert oneself” or “to be exhausted, weak” has been the suggestion of H. G. Güterbock since *Oriens*, 10 (1957), 358 f. The participle *dariyanteš* according to this view would mean “weak, without strength,” and would accord well with the contrast (*-ma*) afforded by the following clause.

²⁴ Unacceptable to me are the translations of A. Götze, *Hatt.*, pp. 33 and 100², A. Kammenhuber (MSS 3, 1953, 41), and E. H. Sturtevant, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (1935), pp. 79 and 97, although the latter correctly analyzes *innara-wa-šmaš*.

²⁵ Text in *JCS*, 5 (1951), 22 with translation by Güterbock on page 23.

It should be clear from the many sentences adduced from Hittite texts in the preceding paragraphs that, whether or not the verb “to be” is expressed, the conditions are the same for the occurrence of the reflexive particle *-za* or its replacement, the oblique enclitic pronoun referring back to the subject. These conditions are: that in texts composed after the reign of Šuppiluliumaš I, if the subject of the nominal sentence is a first or second person pronoun expressed or only implied, the presence of either *-za* or the oblique enclitic first or second person pronoun is required. If, on the contrary, the subject of such a sentence is a noun or a third person pronoun expressed or implied, neither *-za* nor the oblique enclitic pronoun is required.

In order to illustrate this rule in another manner I shall adduce a passage in which two nominal sentences (both with the verb “to be” expressed) are in immediate juxtaposition. The subject of the first is a noun (i.e., the third person), while that of the second is a first person plural pronoun. Observe the sudden appearance of *-za*, as the subject changes: *nu DINGIR.MEŠ GIM-an ar-ḫa-ya-an a-š[a-an-zi] ú-e-ša-za QA-TAM-MA ar-ḫa-y[a-an e-šu-e-ni]*, “as the gods exist (= dwell) separately, so let us exist separately!” (XXIV 8 iv 19–20).²⁶ In contrast to the previous example note the following sentence, in which the juxtaposed nominal sentences have as their subjects second- and first-person pronouns respectively. Here we observe that *-za* is required in both cases: *ap-pa-an-wa-mu-za-kán e-eš [nu-wa]-du-za tu-uk EGIR-pa e-eš-mi*, “get behind me, and I will get behind you!” (XXXVI 35 + i 12–13).²⁷

The Old Hittite examples without *-za* or the oblique enclitic do not contradict the rule but constitute an aspect of its formulation. Several Old Hittite examples have already been adduced above. One or two more follow: *ú-ug-ga ʿAn-na-an-na-aš e-eš-mi*, “I am Annannaš” (VBoT 58 iv 3); *Ú-UL at-ta-aš-mi-iš e-eš Ú-UL(!) DUMU-aš-ti-iš e-eš-li-it*, “be not my father, and let me not be your son!” (XXVI 35 6–7).²⁸

It is interesting to note that in extremely late texts, i.e., those from the reign of Šuppiluliyamaš (= Šuppiluliumaš II), whereas we can detect a serious attempt on the part of the scribes at archaizing,²⁹ the rule which we have here formulated is observed in the same way as in other texts after the reign of Šuppiluliumaš I: *ú-uk-wa-za*³⁰ *EGIR-an e-eš*, “get behind me!” (KBo XII 64 iv 3);³¹ *nu A-BU-YA ʾTu-ud-ḫa-li-ya-aš LUGAL.GAL GIM[-a]n a-ša-an-za LUGAL-uš e-eš-ta . . . ú-uk-za ʾUTUŠI Ta-bar-na-aš*

²⁶ Professor Güterbock has pointed out to me that, since *e-šu-e-ni* is a conjectural restoration here, it might be appropriate for me to explain why I have opted for the translation “they are/exist” (*eš*- “to be”) rather than “they sit” (“sitzen,” not “sich setzen”). My reasons are: (1) although exceptions do exist, it is surely the custom in the simile clauses of the type *GIM-an/maḥḥan . . . QĀTAMMA/apeniššan . . .* for the verbs to be the same in the two clauses being compared. Thus the restoration *e-šu-e-ni*, while based on no duplicate, is the most probable. (2) If *e-šu-e-ni* belongs in the second clause, then the contrast of *eš*- without *-za* and *eš*- with *-za* would have to be reflected in a translation: “Wie nun die Götter getrennt sitzen, ebenso wollen wir uns auch getrennt setzen,” which I would consider inappropriate to this context. The contrast of “sitzen” and “sich setzen” is not the reason for the sudden appearance of *-za* in the second clause; it is rather that the subject has changed from third to first person. Thus Friedrich’s 1950 translation “sind” and “sein” (ZA, 49,

223) is the more suitable, though of course the semantic development of “to be (in a place)” into “to dwell (in a place)” is to be assumed here.

²⁷ Discussed from a different viewpoint by this writer in *RHA*, 76 (1965), 6.

²⁸ XXVI 35 6–7 was called to my attention in regard to the absence of *-za* by Professor Laroche in a personal letter dated October 27, 1968. Laroche also notes that the absence of *-za* in nominal sentences in the *dandukišni* texts (*JCS*, 1, 187 f.) is “a hint at the archaic character of their language throughout.”

²⁹ Note in particular as archaizing the attempt to make use of the older independent pronoun form *ug* (now long since supplanted by *ammuk*).

³⁰ While the scribe uses *ug* correctly in KBo XII 38 ii 22, he has employed it incorrectly here in KBo XII 64 iv 3, where it should be the dative-locative form *ammuk* governed by the post-positional *EGIR-an*!

³¹ This passage was brought to my attention by Professor Laroche.

^mKÙ.GA.[TÚ]L-aš LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ^{URU}[Ha]t-ti UR.SAG (KBo XII 38 ii 11–13, 22–24).³²

I am aware of very few genuine exceptions to this rule: *šu-um-ma-aš-ma ku-i-e-eš* LÚ.MEŠ SAG, “ye who are grandees” (XXVI 1 iii 61; but probably error for *šu-um-ma-aš-ma-za*, judging from *ibid.* i 6 and iii 45); DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ ^{LU}-aš e-*šu-un*, “I was a mortal” (VI 45 iii 26 and duplicate VI 46 iii 66);³³ *nu A-NA* ⁴UTUŠⁱ *hu-u[-ma-a]n-te-es-pát pi-ra-an hu-u-i-ya-an-te-eš e-eš-ten*, “all of you must run before the emperor!” (XXVI 1 iii 13–14). The following passage earlier appeared to constitute an exception, but now appears to conform to my rule, since it probably preserves archaic features of the language of its Old Hittite forerunner:³⁴ LÚ.MEŠ AŠ-mi-iš³⁵ [*le-*]e *ki-iš-ta ga-a-i-na-aš-mi-iš le-e ki-iš-ta [a?-r]a?-aš-mi-iš a-ra-a-aš-mi-⟨iš⟩ e-eš*, “you must not become my equal(?), you must not become my in-law; be my friend(?) and comrade!” (XXIX 1 i 12–13; for another translation cf. Goetze in ANET 357).

To summarize: the first and second person pronouns, when they constitute the subject of the nominal sentence, demand *-za* or its oblique enclitic pronoun stand-in. Stated differently, when the subject of the nominal sentence is either the speaker or his addressee(s) or both (“inclusive ‘we’”), the reflexive pronoun is required. When the subject of the nominal sentence is a person or object not involved in the discourse as either addressor or addressee, no need is felt for the reflexive.

Like all rules of grammar this one must be judged by (1) its ability to organize and interpret the phenomena, (2) its applicability in the largest possible percentage of attested cases, and (3) its simplicity. In precisely these three areas the rule which has just been proposed and illustrated represents a considerable advance over previous attempts to explain the conditions for the use of *-za* in nominal sentences.³⁶

³² H. G. Güterbock, *JNES*, 26 (1967), 76 and 78.

³³ Because the particle *-za* is lacking in both copies, this is not just a slip in one “manuscript.”

³⁴ Professor Güterbock informs me that XXIX 1 has all the characteristics of the old language. He further informs me that when he checked Bo 1299 (= XXIX 3, an older duplicate of XXIX 1) in the museum at Istanbul, he found that it is in the Old Hittite writing. It is his opinion therefore that “the big tablet (XXIX 1) is a later copy retaining many (but not all) of the peculiarities of the old original. So the lack of *-za* here may be explained by the old age of the text (or its prototype).” (The preceding is quoted from a personal letter of February 13, 1969 with Professor Güterbock’s permission.)

³⁵ LÚ.MEŠ AŠ-mi-iš, which occurs in Hittite texts only here, is translated by Goetze: “my rival” (J. B. Pritchard, *ANET*², p. 357; italics are Goetze’s). The basis for this translation, which has never been explained in print by Professor Goetze, is apparently the following. The sign AŠ, when given the Sumerian pronunciations **ru* (*ru-ú*) or **deli* (*de-li*, *de-e-li*), is defined in Akkadian by the adjective *gimālu*, “equal

(in size or rank)” (cf. Deimel, *ŠL* II 1:10; *CAD*, G, pp. 110–11). Other Akkadian values for the sign AŠ given by Deimel are *amēlu* and *zikaru*, “man,” and *ēdu/wēdum* and *dēlum* (the latter a Sumerian loan from *deli*), “single, solitary, lonely man; only child” (*CAD*, D, p. 129; *CAD*, E, pp. 36–38). The function of the plural marker MEŠ in our Hittite passage is unclear, as indeed the entire passage is! What is clear, however, is the fact that *eš-* (and even *kiš-!*) does not take *-za* in Old Hittite, even when the subject of the sentence is a first or second person pronoun or its equivalent.

³⁶ Professor Güterbock informs me that he was unaware of this rule before seeing my manuscript, but he has been fully aware for many years now of the function of *-za* in determining when a juxtaposition of nouns must be understood as subject and predicate of a nominal sentence. Compare his observations in *ZA*, 39 (1930), 18, *JAOs*, 65 (1945), 254, and *JNES*, 26 (1967), 74⁴. In fact *ZA*, 39 (1930), 18 brings to our attention still another instance of our rule in action: ŠEŠ-YA *na-ak-ki-iš-mu-za* ŠEŠ-a[š(?)], “MY brother! Thou art a revered brother to me!”

Remarks on the Hittite Version of the Naram-Sin Legend

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Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 1970, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1970), pp. 17-22

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1359279>

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- 20 [(ERÍN.M)EŠ *Ma-an-da ša-*
am-na-an har [-zi]
 21 [(-zi nu-u)]š- ši *me-na-ah-ha-*
an-da ^G1ŠN[A-aš]
 22 [še-eš-ki-iš-k|i-ši nu-uš-ši *tág-ga-li-e-š[i le-]e*
 23 [^G1Š*tu-u-ri-it-ti-it iš-ha-[a-i]*
 24 [na-at *ḫal-ḫal-t|u-u-ma-ri-ya da-a-i nu-*
za-k[án x x -ti-i]t e-ep
 25 [*ḫa-an-za ḫar-ak] ut-ni-ya-az-ti-it-ta-a[š-ši-iš-*
ta]
 26 [*le-e pa-i-ši] a-pí-ya-ak-ku LÜ-aš x[*
lu-e-en-ta

Translation

[The gods] reply to him: "Oh Naram-Sin!
 [...] we have spoken. This . . . troops.
 [Against you] the Umm[an] Manda [he has]
 created.
 [...] Together with her (your wife) in be[d]
 you will [sleep,] but with her you must
 [no]t . . . !
 [...] Bind up your weapon(s) !
 [And them in a co]rner place! Hold onto
 [you]r [boldness] !
 [Stay at home!] Out of your land [unto him
 (the enemy)]
 [you must not go!] On that occasion a man
 [...]"

Commentary

18: In the Neo-Assyrian version of the legend, line 147 in Gurney's edition begins a final section, in which the king himself offers words of advice to all kings and rulers who shall come after him (*attā mannu lū iššakku lū rubū lū mimma ša-nāma*).¹⁰ In the Hittite version, however, it appears that the gods speak thus to Naram-Sin. The legend has doubtless been altered in some respects between the Old Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian periods.

19: I follow Forrer and Güterbock¹¹ in reading K[A], but can make no smooth translation by supplying -aš (*ka-a-aš* IN[IM-aš] would be "this word"). The ERÍN.MEŠ-az which follows can be a nominative singular, as noted first by Drohla.¹² If the K[A-x] word is a genitive gov-

erned by ERÍN.MEŠ-az, then we might have a nominal sentence: "This (is) the army of . . ." The entire matter of these three words is very unclear.

20: The enemy hordes are also called *ummān manda* in line 54 of the Assyrian version, although no such mention of them is to be found in lines 147ff., which seem to offer the closest analogue to these Hittite lines. One could think of restoring [IGI-an-da-ta (ERÍN.M)EŠ] *Ma-an-da ša-am-na-an ḫar-[-zi]*, "he has raised up against you the Ummān Manda." Similar constructions employing *menahhanda* and *šamnai-* can be found in XXXIII 106 iii 13-14 and 32-35 (restored in JCS 6, 1952, 26-27). The lacuna at the beginning of the line will accommodate four signs according to Güterbock.¹³ For the sentiment compare lines 32 (*ib-nu-šú-nu-ti-ma* DINGIR.-MEŠ GAL.MEŠ, "the great gods created them") and 131 (*ana ár-kat u₄-me ^dEn-líl ana lemuttiⁱ i-na-aš-šá re-su-un*, "in days to come Enlil will summon them for evil") of the Assyrian version.

21: It is with this line of the Hittite composition that the verbal similarities to the Assyrian version begin. Line 157 of the Sultantepe copy is read by Gurney: *at-ta ina su-un sinništi-ka ši-pir lu* (variant: *lu-u teppuš^{us}*, "enjoy thyself in the bosom of thy wife."¹⁴ It would seem that the Hittite translator understood (or saw in the earlier copy?) *la* instead of *lu* and translated "When you are sleeping in bed with her, with her you shall *not* lie in an embrace." Thus in lines 21 and 22 of the Hittite I have accepted the restoration [še-eš-ki-iš-k|i-ši nu-uš-ši *tág-ga-li-e-š[i]* first proposed by Forrer, followed by the tentatively proposed restoration of [le-]e advanced by Sommer.¹⁵ The Assyrian version reads *ši-pir lu DÜ-uš*, if that is how the first two signs should be read.¹⁶ For this the CAD offers the

13. *Op. cit.* 56.

14. Gurney, *op. cit.* 107.

15. Forrer, *op. cit.*; Sommer & Falkenstein, HAB (1938) 34.

16. Of the five witnesses to the text of this composition utilized by Gurney, only two (CT XIII 40 rev is 18 = "B"; *Sultantepe Tablets*, vol. I, no. 30, line 157 = "E") contain this line in an undamaged state. Both preserve something which *could* be interpreted as *ši-pir* or *ši-tú*, etc. But other readings would be paleographically possible, e.g., SIGs. Highly improbable, but perhaps worth mentioning in view of the translation of the Hittite word *taggaliya-* proposed by Sommer and advocated in the HWb, is a reading *lim-tam* (or *lim-tú*), which could

10. Gurney, *op. cit.* 106-07.

11. Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift, II, page 4; ZA 44 56.

12. Drohla, *Die Kongruenz zwischen Nomen und Attribut sowie Subjekt und Prädikat* (unpublished, mimeographed dissertation), 1933, page 18. I owe this reference to Goetze.

translation: "Enjoy yourself (in the embrace of your wife)." ¹⁷ The only other example which the CAD is able to cite in support of this translation of *šipra epēšu* is Gilgamesh I iv 13: *ipššuma lullâ šipir sinništi*, "provide the brute with sexual pleasure." But in the latter example the woman is the subject of *šipra epēšu*, and the qualifying genitive *sinništi* is added to *šipir*. These and other considerations have prompted my colleague, W. W. Hallo, to express to me his doubts about the rendering of Gurney, which was followed by the CAD. It is indeed possible that some other reading was intended for the sign or signs which Gurney reads *ši-pir*. But until a more convincing reading can be found we are left with nothing to put in the place of *ši-pir*. Even if we must transliterate: *at-ta ina su-un MÍ-ka x x lu DÛ-uš*, the context would surely necessitate that *x x epēšu* be understood as a reference to sexual intercourse. Thus, while it would be desirable to improve upon the reading of Gurney, and while it should be pointed out that the translation which he offers for the idiom encounters certain linguistic difficulties, we must conclude that after all the passage does in all likelihood refer to sexual intercourse. As for the Hittite version, *nu-uš-ši tág-ga-li-e-š[i le-] e* demonstrates, as Goetze has pointed out to me, that *taggalieši* in this passage is not a transitive verb, since it governs its object in the dative (-*ši*) rather than accusative (-*an*). For this reason I have employed the somewhat more awkward rendering "with her (-*ši*) you shall not lie in an embrace."

23: GIŠ can be restored without difficulty from the traces. Assyrian version (line 162)

be related to the Akkadian verb *lawûm/lamû* "to encircle, enclose." On analogy with *parsat/pirsat* formations containing a third radical which is "weak" (i.e., is represented in Akkadian orthography as either "aleph" or zero), such as *mārtu* "daughter" (**mar'atu*), *pērtu* "headhair" (**par'atu*), *tāltu* "worm" (**tawl'atu*), on which cf. B. Landsberger, *Die Welt des Orients* 3 (1964) 70⁸³. The form suggested for IGI + UD (*lim-tam*) would be *līmtu* "enclosure" (**liw'atu*). The *līmtu* solution, however, is not my own preference. I only wish to show how other readings might be possible. Failure to indicate the case ending vowel in the orthography is not a regular feature of either CT XIII 40 or ST I 30, so that one has every right to be suspicious of *ši-pir lu DÛ-uš*. It was my colleague, W. W. Hallo, who first aroused my doubts on the Gurney reading.

17. CAD E 221 under the special lemma *šipru* (f').

reads: GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ka ru-ku-us-ma tub-qa-a-ti e-mid* (variant: *um-mid*). There seems to be no Hittite counterpart for lines 158-61 of the Assyrian version, but 162 is neatly matched by Hittite version, lines 23-24. The lexical and grammatical equivalents are:

GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ- <i>ka</i>	= [G] ¹⁸ <i>tu-u-ri-it-ti-it</i>
<i>ru-ku-us</i>	= <i>iš-ḫa-[a-i]</i>
<i>-ma</i>	= [<i>na-at</i>]
<i>tub-qa-a-ti</i>	= [<i>ḫal-ḫal-t</i>] <i>u-u-ma-ri-ya</i>
<i>e-mid</i> (variant: <i>um-mid</i>)	= <i>da-a-i</i>

The equation of ^GGIŠ^{turi}- with ^GGIŠŠUKUR had been made by both F. Sommer¹⁸ and Laroche.¹⁹ Our evidence is for a less specific meaning: ^GGIŠ^{turi}- (here a neuter noun) = GIŠ.TUKUL.-MEŠ "weapons." The equation of *rukus* "bind!" with *išḫai* is of no lexical significance, since the meaning of *išḫai* "to bind" has been recognized for a long time. The value of the Akkadian parallel lies rather in the evidence for the restoration of the end of the Hittite verb. Güterbock's restoration of [*ḫal-ḫal-t*]*u-u-ma-ri-ya* on the basis of the end of the word is here confirmed by *tubqāti*, the plural of *tubuqtu* "corner." The Hittite translator has, however, not displayed much understanding of his Akkadian text. For *tubqāti emid* does not mean "put...in a corner," but rather "betake thyself to the corner(s)." This meaning of the construction *tubqāti ummidā* is reasonably certain from Era I 16-17, where the god says: *lu-ut-bi lu-uš-lal-ma i-ta-a-ma a-na kak-ke-šû um-me-da tub-qa-a-ti*, "'Come now, I will lie down to sleep.' And to his weapons he says, 'Get ye into a corner!'" ²⁰ In my opinion both *tubqāti emēdu* and *tubqāti ummudu* mean "to get into a corner." But the Hittite translator interpreted *emēdu* as "to lean something, place something" and chose the verb *dai-* to convey this idea in Hittite.

The lacuna in KBo III 18 rev 24 (= BoTU 4B III 24) will accommodate three or at best four signs of average length. The best candidate according to sense would be UR.SAG-*tar* (= *tarḫuilatar*) as a translation of Assyrian version's *qarradūti-ka* (line 163). The partially visible sign

18. ZA 46 (1940) 24f.

19. OLZ 1959 276.

20. P. F. Gössmann, *Das Era-Epos*, I 16-17 (pages 8-9, cf. also comments on page 40).

at the left end of the lacuna I read as *-kán*, fitting the evidence for *-za-kan ep-* to be reviewed below. The Assyrian imperative *qarradūti-ka ušur* (Gurney: "Husband thy valour!")^{20a} should be rendered by Hittite *nu-za-k[án UR.SAG-tar-ti-i]t e-ep*, but such a restoration involves too many signs for the width of the lacuna, to be precise about one too many. I have, however, no alternative reading to suggest. Perhaps the scribe inadvertently omitted a sign and wrote: UR.SAG-ti-it or SAG-tar-ti-it or the like?

The meaning of the Hittite verb *ep-* has been thoroughly discussed by a number of scholars, as can be seen from just a casual survey of the literature cited in HWb *sub voce*. Nevertheless, it seems in place in view of the above equation with an Akkadian expression to review the evidence for the meaning of the simplex *ep-* (i.e., without preverb) with and without *-za* and the various local particles (especially *-kan*). I shall not consider the special case of *-za ep-* with an infinitive ("begin to . . ."),²¹ nor the other special case, the idiom *-za pedaššit epzi/epta* ("he takes/took his assigned place")²².

20a. In his corrections to the *Anatolian Studies* 5 edition of the Naram-Sin legend, which he published in *Anatolian Studies* 6 (1956) 163-64, Gurney suggests for line 163 " 'spare thy warriors', rather than 'husband thy valour'." For this rendering he offers no further justification. From the Hittite version it would seem that the Hittite translator adopted a translation more similar to Gurney's former one. From the stand-point of the Akkadian text itself, however, there is much to be said for Gurney's new choice. Lines 162 and 163 form a couplet with members A and B, A' and B'. If we choose "Get thee into a corner!" (as defended above) as the correct rendering of *tubqāti emid* in B, then stichoi A and A' have to do with Naram-Sin's weapons and warriors, while B and B' concern the safety of his own person:

"Tie up thy weapons!

Get thee into a corner!

Spare thy warriors!

Take heed for thine own person!"

The form *qarradūti* would be the masculine plural of the adjective *qarradu* "heroic, brave, mighty" (Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* 596a), used here in a substantial manner. This happens to correspond with the spelling of the abstract *qarradūtu* "heroism, bravery." Judging from the entry in AHw 756a, *našārum* 13a ("JB Krieger *ú-šur*"), it would appear that von Soden too has adopted Gurney's newer interpretation of line 163, although his page reference is to *Anatolian Studies* 5 108, rather than to *Anatolian Studies* 6 164!

21. HWb 41 under *ep-*, e.g., KBo V 6 i 9 and Hatt. II 77-78. Cf. also F. Ose, *Sup. und Infin.* (1944) 22f.

22. E.g., KBo V 2 i 42; KBo IV 9 ii 5-6; XXIX 4 iii 27ff. Cf. already Götze in ArchOr 5 (1933) 5.

When *ep-* is used with *-za* and *-kan*, the context is often military, and the verb governs a noun in the accusative or locative which denotes a place. It may then be translated "to capture, gain control of" with the implication of the intention to maintain that hold over a protracted period. (1) *nu ku-i-e-eš NAM.RA I-NA HUR.SAG A-ri-in-na-an-da pa-a-ir nu-za-kán HUR.SAG A-ri-in-na-an-da-an e-ep-pir ku-i-e-eš-ma NAM.RA HÁ pa-ra-a I-NA URUPu-ú-ra-an-da pa-a-ir nu-za-kán URUPu-ra-an-da-an e-ep-pir*, "Some civilian captives went to Mt. Arinnanda and gained control of Mt. Arinnanda, (while) other civilian captives went on to Puranda and gained control of Puranda" (KBo III 4 ii 33-35 = AM 52-53); (2) *NAŠĥē-kur Pi-it-ta-la-aḥ-ša-aš-ma-za-kán IŠ-TU ERÍN.MEŠ NAM.RA [IŠ-]BAT*, "He captured the *ḥekur Pittalaḥšaš* together with (its) free and semi-free population" (KBo II 5 i 4-5 = AM 180-81);²³ (3) *[nu-za-kán] A-NA IDZu-li-ya pi-[ra-an GIŠar-mi-i]z-zi e-ep-pir*, "They captured (gained control of) the bridge crossing (lit., 'in front of') the river Zuliya" (363/e ii 12-13 = JCS 16, 1962, 111f.).

Also enlightening is KBo V 6 i 10-13, where one may observe the contrast between *-kan ep-* (mistakenly without *-za*?) and *ḥar-*: *nu-kán A-BU-YA ŠĀ HUR.SAG Ku-un-ti-ya-an a(sic)-ip-ta mHi-i-mu-DINGIRLIM-iš-ma GAL.GEŠTIN IDŠa-a-ri-ya-an ḥar-ta mHa-an-nu-ut-ti-iš-ma GAL LUIS I-NA URUPár-pár-ra ḥar-ta*, "Then my father gained control of Mt. Kuntiya, while Himuili, the commander, held the river Šariya, and Hannutti, the marshall, held (a position) in Parparra" (= JCS 10, 1956, 90).

Diverging from the normal usage is the Tunnawi ritual, in which two occurrences of *-za-kan . . . ep-* are found where the context is not military, and the object of the verb is not a noun denoting a city, mountain, river, etc. Still some common ground can be detected, inasmuch as the meaning I posit is "to take hold of (and keep hold of)." (1) *nam-ma-za-kán GUD u-ša-an-ta-ri-in SI e-ep-zi nu me-ma-i* (VII 53 iv 7f.), "She takes a fertile(?) cow by the horn²⁴ and says." The pur-

23. To the literature in HWb on *arnuwala-* and *NAM.RA* add A. L. Oppenheim, *Catalogue . . . Wilberforce Eames* (AOS 32, 1948) 19; and A. Goetze apud Walser, *Neuere Hethiterforschung* (1964) 28 with footnote 29. ERÍN.MEŠ and *NAM.RA* represent the two principal divisions of the population, free and semi-free. Cf. Oppenheim, *loc. cit.*

24. *Heth. Elementarbuch* (2nd ed., 1960) §213.

pose of the *-za* in this case may be to indicate *duration*.²⁵ She does not take the cow and give it to another; she takes it and holds onto it, while uttering the words of the *Analogiespruch*.²⁶ These words owe their effectiveness to the contact which the speaker maintains with the cow. Parallel to this passage is another in the same ritual, which has been previously understood in a different manner: [nam-ma] GIŠ-ru IN-BU wa-ša-a-an ku-wa-pí ar-ta [na-aš a-p]i-ya pa-iz-zi na-at-za-kán PA IŠ-ŠÍ e-ep-[zi nu me-ma-i], "then where a tree covered with fruit stands, there she goes, and it by the foliage of the tree²⁷ she seizes and says" (VII 53 iv 15-17). As in the earlier passage the verb governed two nouns in the accusative (GUD *u-ša-an-ta-ri-in* and SI), so here also the construction is the same: *na-at* (i.e., GIŠ-ru)-*za-kán* PA GIŠst. e-ep-zi. The PA GIŠst should be a part of the GIŠ-ru in the same way as the SI is a part of the GUD *u-ša-an-ta-ri-in*. This construction shares much (if indeed it is not identical) with the so-called *skhēma kath holon kai meros*.²⁴ And since Sumerian PA = Akkadian *artu* "foliage,"²⁸ the *Analogiespruch* which follows in lines 17ff. confirms this reading of the signs and Goetze's

interpretation of GIŠst*tar-ša* as well.²⁹ For the woman makes mention of the same two aspects of the tree: (1) its being covered with fruit, and (2) its putting forth foliage ([na-at ma-aš-ḥa]-an ša-ra-a GIŠst*tar-ša pé-en-ni-ya-an ḥar-[zi]*, line 18). It would appear that we have in GIŠst*tar-ša* the phonetic Hittite reading of PA GIŠst (= Akk. *artu* "foliage").

Without *-kan* but with *-za* and exhibiting a very closely allied meaning is the passage from the instructions to temple personnel: *na-aš šu-ma-aš A-NA LÚ.MEŠSANGA LÚ.MEŠGU[DÚ]MÍ.MEŠ-AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} nu-uš-(ma-aš) A-NA LÚ.MEŠ É.[DINGIR^{LIM}] ú-iz-zi nu-uš-ma-aš-za ge-e-nu-uš-šu-uš e-ep-zi*, "And he comes to you priests, anointed ones, 'mothers-of-god,' and temple servants, and he takes to his knees (before) you, (saying)..." (XIII 4 ii 56ff.). The implication of the context is surely a durative one. The suppliant "holds to his (own) knees (before) you," i.e., he takes to his knees or falls to his knees in the presence of the priestly personnel and remains in that position while he voices his request. The above interpretation is that of Goetze, who analyzes *ge-e-nu-uš-šu-uš* as *genu(š)=šuš*, containing the accusative plural possessive pronoun of the third person singular ("his knees"). If the noun were an extended stem *genušš(a?)*-, based ultimately on *genu*-, then the form *genuššuš* could be an accusative plural of a common gender noun with no possessive suffix, and the owner of the knees "seized" would be the priest. It is more likely, however, that Goetze's interpretation is correct.

A full discussion of all other occurrences of the simplex *ep-* without *-za* or *-kan*, as well as the occurrences of *ep-* with its preverbs both with and without *-za* would exceed the reasonable limits of this article. What I have sought to show in this digression from the commentary on the Naram-Sin text is the probable force of the *-za* in *nu-za-kán UR.SAG-tar-ti-it e-ep*. The evidence reviewed above demonstrates that with *-za* the verb *ep-* acquires a certain durative aspect and should be translated "gain control of and keep control of, master," a translation which is wholly appropriate to the Naram-Sin passage.

25: About five signs can be accommodated in the lacuna. Perhaps the Hittite equivalent for Assyrian *pu-ut-ka šul-lim* "Stay at home" (lit.,

29. *Tunnawi* (AOS 14, 1938) 97. He renders it "shoot," which is quite close.

25. Already in his ArchOr 5 article Götze noticed that *-za* frequently seemed to convey a notion of completeness, what he called a perfective aspect. When later the specific reflexive function of *-za* was discovered, certain aspects of the earlier studies which disclosed other valid nuances of the particle were, if not overlooked, certainly underemphasized. By now enough has been said about the "reflexive" function of *-za*. One needs to proceed to the interpretation of cases where there is no obvious reflexive idea to be conveyed. I therefore suggest this durative force with *ep-* without apology.

26. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (2nd ed., 1957) 156-57.

27. Goetze has raised certain objections to the reading PA GIŠst which deserve consideration. (1) One would expect more space between the PA and GIŠ signs, if they were to be understood as separate words. Usually true, but consider KBo V 1 ii 48; KBo XV 24 iii 3, 7; XXIX 4 i 28. In these three passages there is no spacing between the first noun and GIŠ. (2) One would expect the scribe to have used the writing GIŠstPA GIŠst in order to remove ambiguity with *pa-iz-zi*. Quite possibly a valid objection. Still the scribe may have wished to avoid confusion of PA (= *artu* "foliage") with GIŠstPA (= *ḥattu* "staff"). One must, however, acknowledge the cogency of Goetze's objections. Might we be dealing with an earlier misunderstanding of his forerunner by the scribe who copied the Tunnawi Ritual?

28. CAD A² 310-11.

“Keep your forehead safe”) was *ḥa-an-za ḥar-ak* or SAG.ZI-*za ḥar-ak*. It is a very similar force which A. Goetze attributed to this Hittite idiom in Hittite law §165: *kuitman wizza meḫuni ari ta É-iš-ši* SAG.KI-*za ḥar-zi*, “Until a year has elapsed he shall keep away from his house.”³⁰ Of course, it is understood that, since this is a conjectural restoration, it can offer no support for this interpretation of *ḥanza ḥar-*, which stands upon other evidence in the Hittite texts.³¹

ut-ni-ya-az-ti-it-ta-a[š-ši-iš-ta] would then begin a new utterance and should (as it in fact does) carry the sentence enclitics (-*ši* “to him” and -(a)*šta* according to my understanding). So far as the basic force of -(a)*šta* is concerned, I find myself in agreement with Carruba, who — admitting of eventual broadening of the original meaning — posits for it the sense of separation, which makes it an appropriate particle to accompany the ablative.³² I therefore regard these

30. Goetze apud J. B. Pritchard, ANET (2nd ed., 1955) 195.

31. See Goetze's remarks in JCS 20 (1966) 131, where he states: “The locution *ḥanza(n) ḥark-* (with dat. and the particle -*za*) means ‘keep aloof of someone, let someone alone.’” The absence of -*za* in Hittite law §165 is due to the antiquity of the laws. Where -*za* was not employed in Old Hittite (and in archaizing passages from later texts), it often was required in later texts (cf. Hoffner, JNES 28, 1969, 225). Since our Naram-Sin text is a copy of an Old Hittite composition, we need not restore -*za* here.

32. O. Carruba, Or NS 33 (1964) 409–18.

signs as spelling one word. Güterbock's *ut-ni-ya-az ti-it-ta-n[u?]*-, while in no way violating the readings of the signs, does not seem as close to the Assyrian version. In line 164 of that version we read: *lit-tag-giš māt-ka e tu-ši-šú*, “Let him wander through your land! Go not out to him!” The Hittite translator rendered the Babylonian forerunner of this approximately as: “Do not go out of your land to him!”

26: *A-pi-ya-ak-ku* would mean “at that time, under such circumstances,” as Friedrich³³ has determined it for other contexts. I have no restoration to offer for the verb at the end of line 26 of the Hittite.

Aside from traces of a few signs in line 27, which I cannot translate, the Hittite text is preserved no further. I am not convinced that KBo III 20 (= BoTU 5), to which Güterbock assigned the siglum C and utilized to continue the story,³⁴ belongs to the same legend. The Assyrian text, as edited by Gurney, offers some welcome assistance in the interpretation of a few lines of the Hittite piece. The Hittite is, of course, much older than the Neo-Assyrian copy, but unfortunately despite previous attempts and premature identifications no text of the Old Babylonian forerunner of the Naram-Sin legend has yet been recovered.

33. JCS 1 (1947) 303.

34. ZA 44 (1938) 58–59.

Hittite ega- and egan-

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 1971, Vol. 24, No. 1/2 (1971), pp. 31-36

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

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HITTITE *ega-* AND *egan-*
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The passage XIII 2 iv 23–26 (with its duplicate XIII 24 12–15) and the analogous XIII 1 iv 11–13 offer a glimpse of some of the duties of Hittite officials during the winter.¹ Yet each of these three passages poses problems for the transliteration and translation which are exceedingly difficult. In 1957 Einar von Schuler transliterated XIII 2 iv 23–26 and translated it into German as a portion of his critical edition of *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen für höhere Hof- und Staatsbeamte*.² Von Schuler assigned to the main text (XIII 2) the siglum “A,” to the duplicate (XIII 24) the siglum “H,” and to XIII 1, which in column IV exhibits a wording which seems to diverge too much from “A” and “H” to be termed a duplicate, the siglum “M.” His transliteration of this section was based on “A” with variants from “H” (but not “M”) in the footnotes. A few variants from “M” he incorporated in his commentary on the lines in question. A transliteration of “M” without translation he included separately at the end of his book.³ I return to this problem passage, because it seems to me that recent studies offer a clue to the solution of a few of the more interesting problems. The main text (“A”) in iv 23–26 reads as follows:

..... *gi-im-mi-ya-aš-ša-[a]n* A-NA GUD.-
MEŠ LUGAL
IGI.ĤÁ-wa ĥar-du nu *gi-im-ma-an-da-aš*
BURU_x-aš⁴ x-x [EG]IR-an ar-ĥu-ut

1. This article is a by-product of my work on my forthcoming book *Alimenta Hethaeorum*, one chapter of which treats the schedule of agricultural activities during the seasons of the year.

2. Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 10, 1957, pp. 51f.

3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 62–63.

4. The Sumerian pronunciation *b u r u for the sign conventionally read EBUR is established by the Sumerio-Akkadian vocabularies, whose interpretation was the lifelong task of B. Landsberger. Entries such as b u-r u EBUR = *e-bu-rum* (Syllabar B I 327) and b u-r u EBUR (proto-Ea 417) and others cited from Landsberger's manuscripts in the CAD E, page 16 s.v. *ebūru* are primary evidence for this reading. Landsberger's own discussion can be found in JNES 8 (1949), pp. 248f, esp. note 1 on p. 248. But since according to the system of Thureau-

ŠA TU₇.ĤÁ AŠ-RI^{5A} SIG₅-ya-aĥ-ĥa-an *e-eš-tu*
x-kán da-a-an
e-eš-tu Ē ŠU-RI-PĪ ú-e-[d]a-an *e-eš-tu*
The duplicate XIII 24 12–15 (“H”) offers:
..... [. . . *gi-im-mi-ya-aš-ša-an*]
A-NA GUD.ĤÁ LUGAL IGI.ĤÁ-wa ĥar-du
nu *g[i-im-ma-an-da-aš* BURU_x-aš x-x EGIR-
an ar-ĥu-ut ŠA TU₇.ĤÁ⁵]
AŠ-RI^{5A} Ē.MEŠ TU₇-ya SIG₅-aĥ-ĥa-an *e[-eš-du*
x-kán da-a-an *e-eš-du*
Ē ŠU-RI-PĪ]
ú-e-da-an *e-eš-du*

The restorations in XIII 24 are taken from XIII 2 (“A”). It is acknowledged that in fact what originally stood in the lacunae of “H” might not have corresponded so precisely to the wording of “A.” The juxtaposition of the two duplicates shows, however, for this section of column IV that between 14 and 17 signs (depending on their widths) are presently lost at the right-hand side of the column. None of the restorations suggested above for “H” presumes more than 17 missing signs.

Column I of “M” (XIII 1) was edited by A. Goetze in JCS 14 (1960), pp. 69ff. He did not choose to edit what was preserved of column IV,

Dangin, which is followed in the sign-lists of Deimel, Labat and partially in that of von Soden, no *buru* value accompanied by an index number was assigned to the sign EN×GĀN, one must transliterate it as BURU_x. If it is transliterated BURU, as has been done in J. Friedrich's *HWb* (p. 267 and 270) and sporadically by other Hittitologists, a confusion results. For BURU stands for “BURU number one,” i.e., BUR = Akkad. *naptanu*.

5. The reading UTÚL is appropriate for the sign ĤI×BAD, when it can be translated by Akkadian *diqāru* (a container). When the Sumerian sign was translated by Akkadian *ummaru* (a soup or stew), its reading was TU₇. For the evidence see CAD D, pp. 157–59, MSL II 371. Somehow in the process of transmitting the data from Landsberger through Güterbock to Friedrich for inclusion in *HWb* the readings were reversed, so that according to *HWb* one should read DUGTU₇ (= Akkad. *diqāru*) but UTÚL (= Akkad. *ummaru*; i.e., the food). See *HWb*, pp. 296 and 300. This is an unfortunate mistake, which should be corrected in a future revision of the *HWb*.

since his announced purpose was to supply the "Beginning of the Hittite Instructions for the Commander of the Border Guards." And although von Schuler did offer a transliteration of this column, I shall again transliterate iv 10-14 (which corresponds approximately to XIII 2 iv 21-26) here with a few suggested restorations:

ma-a-an-kán ^{LÚ}KUR-*ya-aš-ḫa-aš* A-NA
SAG.GEM[É.İR.MEŠ *ku-it-ki ar-ḫa da-a-an*]⁶
ḫar-zi na-an EGIR-pa ti-i-ya na-at[-ši-kán^{6a} EGIR-
pa da-a]⁶
*ge-e-mi-ya-aš-ša-an a-ni-ya-at-ta[-aš*⁷ *ud-da-ni-i*?
]⁶
EGIR-*an ar-ḫu-ut na-at SIG₅-aḫ-ḫa-an e-eš-tu*
]⁶

6. Since at no point is column IV preserved in its entire width, one can only estimate the length of the lacunae. Column IV should be, however, approximately as wide as column I which is inscribed on its back. In his edition of column I in JCS 14 (1960), pp. 69ff. A. Goetze offers restorations (many based on duplicates) for a number of the lines. If these restorations are correct, they should give us some idea of the width of column I. Since there are obviously wide signs and narrow signs, one cannot indicate the width of a column precisely by stating the number of signs it will accommodate. Yet an approximate idea of the width of the column can be obtained by averaging out the number of signs presumed for each of the lines restored by duplicates. Thus, if one counts both signs and spacing between words in the total, he discovers that the longest line which Goetze restores is line 9, for which he presumes a total of 46 signs and spaces between words. Other totals given in order of size are: 39 (line 35), 34 (line 31), 31 (line 12), 29 (line 29), 28 (line 4), 21 (line 5). When these figures are added up and divided by the number of lines taken into the account, the average total number of signs and signs dividing words is 32.5. The total number of signs and spaces separating words which I have assumed in my restoration of XIII 1 iv 10 is 30. Out of that number 13 and a half are in the lacuna. Since the line of the break runs almost directly vertical through lines 10 through 14, we can assume that about 13 spaces of average sign width lay to the right of the line of the break in each of these lines. Of course, in line 14 (the final line of a "paragraph") the scribe need not have used all of the line. Thus I have restored only IGI.ḪI.A *ḫar-ak*.

6a. I restore *-kán* because of the assumed presence of *-ši* and EGIR-*pa* ("take it away from him"). See other examples in my note 16.

7. The restoration *a-ni-ya-at-ta[-aš ud-da-ni-i* . . .] is based on *nu* KIN.ḪÁ-*aš ud-da-ni-i* EGIR-*an ar-ḫu-ut* of XXXI 84 iii 72, but depends for its validity on the assumption that no other verb intervenes between *a-ni-ya-at-ta[-* . . .] and EGIR-*an ar-ḫu-ut*. The lacuna in line 12 will accommodate about 11 more signs and word-separating spaces.

A-NA É.GAL-LIM^{ḪÁ} *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-ya*[a IGI.ḪÁ
*ḫar-ak*⁸]⁶

"If a . . . -man [has taken something away] from the serva[nts] pursue(?)⁹ him and [recover] it [from him! . . .] And in winter with the equipm[ent(?)¹⁰ . . .] concern yourself! And it/them keep in good co[n]dition!¹¹ . . .] On the palace(-building)s in every respect [keep your eyes!]"

Returning to the main text (XIII 2) and its duplicate (XIII 24), certain suggestions for the reading of doubtful signs and sign groups can be made. The sign group immediately preceding [EG]IR-*an* in XIII 2 iv 24, which von Schuler (following Ehelolf's copy) read as GÜB-*aš*, cannot be elucidated by XIII 24 ("H"), since in "H" 13 the portion of the text corresponding to this sign group in "A" is in a lacuna. In XIII 1 ("M") iv 12-13 the sign group which precedes EGIR-*an ar-ḫu-ut* is also in a lacuna. But at the beginning of that lacuna stands an expression, *a-ni-ya-at-ta[-aš ud-da-ni-i* . . .], which has no visible counterpart in "A" or "H", unless it corresponds to the sign group preceding [EG]IR-*an* in "A" iv 24.

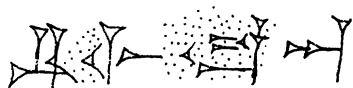
8. Restoration based on *nu-uš-ma-aš-ša-an ú-e-tum-ma-aš ud-da-ni-i* IGI.ḪÁ-*wa ḫar-ak* (XXXI 84 iii 70), *gi-im-mi-ya-aš-ša-an* A-NA GUD.MEŠ LUGAL IGI.ḪÁ-*wa ḫar-du* (XIII 2 iv 23-24), and above all [.É.] GALLIM^{ḪÁ} *ku-e ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫi-ya* [. . . ḫu]-*u-ma-an-te-ya* IGI.ḪÁ-*wa ḫar-ak* (XIII 2 iv 9-10).

9. The translation "pursue" or "go after" (the thief) seems most appropriate in this context. Yet *nu-wa-mu* EGIR-*pa ti-ya-at-tén* in XIII 4 ii 60 led Sommer to propose for *appa ti-ya*- the translation "zurücktreten (um Raum zu geben)" (AU 186¹), whereas for *appan ti-ya*- he offered the translation "hinter etwas hergehen" (Heth. I 14²), "sich bemühen um, sorgen für" (Heth. II 52³). Our context seems to require exactly the opposite of Sommer's translation. On the basis of XIII 2 iv 21-22, where the duty of the *awariyaš išḫaš* is to seize the thief and send him to the king, one surely doesn't expect here the command: "stand back (and give him room)!"

10. Among the acceptable translations of *aniyat*- (KIN-*at*-) are: "work, output, production; priestly attire (of the king); materials for performance of a ritual" (Götze, Madd. 79¹; Götze, AM 225f.; Goetze, JCS 1 [1947], 176f.; HWb 22; HWb Erg. 2 [1961], 7). In this context the *awariyaš išḫaš* could have been directed to oversee the work or output of the servants, or he could have been instructed to look after the materials or equipment, which in the off-season might need repairs. If in certain contexts *aniyat*- can denote the materials for the performance of a ritual (i.e., the equipment), might it not also in this passage denote agricultural implements?

11. For this translation of SIG₅-*aḫ*- (*lazziyaḫ*-) see Goetze, JCS 14 (1960), pp. 72-73.

Could we read those two signs, which von Schuler transliterated as GÜB-*aš*, as KIN-*ši*, i.e., *aniyatti* = *ši* “its (resuming BURU_x-*aš*) equipment”?¹² What I have proposed to read KIN in XIII 2 iv 24 does not resemble closely any of the shapes given for KIN by J. Friedrich in his *Hethitisches Keilschriftlesebuch*, Teil II, p. 52, entry #294. In March of 1971, while in Istanbul, I collated Bo 2063. According to that collation the sign appears as in the first of the accompanying drawings. It



resembles most closely the second shape for TUKU (entry #297) in Friedrich's sign list. But this shape is also attested for KIN in column IV, line 6 of this same tablet (XIII 2 = Bo 2063). The palaeography of XXXI 88 (“B”) iii 72 for KIN is similar, in that it too lacks the gunification in that sign, which sets it apart from TUKU in other texts (such as, for instance, XIII 1 [“M”] i 17, iv 34). Collation of Bo 2063 showed: (1) that a division of “GÜB” into two signs (KIN or TUKU + part of another sign) is in no way excluded, as Ehelolf's copy might suggest by its (incorrect) connection of the diagonal wedge with the following *Winkelhaken*; (2) that the first sign in the group is quite compatible with KIN as drawn elsewhere in Bo 2063; and that (3) the sign which follows KIN might be *-ši*, but is not unequivocally so, since a slight trace above the first *Winkelhaken* might indicate a reading *-wa*, which would not fit my interpretation proposed above; and (4) that more traces of [EG]IR can be seen on the tablet than indicated on Ehelolf's copy (see the drawing given above). A collation of the following line (XIII 2 iv 25) made at the same sitting revealed that the fifth sign from the right is not NA₄, as proposed by Freydank,¹³ but *e* (see the following drawing).



The extreme right-hand vertical wedge of the sign is unbroken (unlike the normal *e*), but the same is

12. I owe the suggestion of reading *-ši* and interpreting it as the locative of the possessive pronoun to H. G. Güterbock.

13. WdO I (1947-52) 203. What appeared on the photo to be an additional *Winkelhaken* between the two horizontals proved upon collation to be a fault in the surface.

true of the first sign on the left end of the following line (Ehelolf's copy of this sign is incorrect), which must be *e* (in *e-ēš-tu*). All other features of the fifth sign from the right on line 25 fit *e* perfectly. I would read *e-kán da-a-an* (26) *e-ēš-tu* with absolutely no doubts of a palaeographic nature. As to the interpretation of *e-kán*, I cannot agree with Freydank¹⁴ that the *-kán* is the local particle. Nothing in this sentence requires the local particle *-kan*. The only sentences which I know of in which both *-kan* and *da-* (“to take”) occur contain also either a preverb/postposition¹⁵ or a noun or pronoun in a local case.¹⁶ Neither is true in this instance. I would conclude that the sign *-kán* in this passage is part of the noun *e-kán*, which serves as the subject of the predicate *da-a-an e-ēš-tu* “Let *ekan* be procured!” The commands given to the royal official in XIII 2 iv 23-26 are expressed in a series of imperatives, some third person active voice (in *-tu*)¹⁷ and one third person medio-passive voice (in *-hut*).¹⁸ Lines 25-26 seem to contain a triad of clauses exhibiting the same grammatical structure: nominal subject + passive participle + *ēštu*. No coordinating conjunction joins them to each other. There is, therefore, no evidence that the three actions are in any way dependent upon each other. They could be three totally unrelated duties. But the grammatical structure does not exclude a relationship. To come to the point, the sentence structure does not require that we understand *ekan dan ēštu* as an action related to É ŠURĪPI *we[d]an ēštu*, but neither does it require that we divorce the two. Could the *ekan* which is “taken” be something which is to be stored in the É ŠURĪPI? More specifically, could the *ekan* be a syllabic spelling of the Hittite reading of Akkadian ŠURĪPU?

In a recent article¹⁹ E. Laroche has identified

14. *Ibidem*.

15. [nu]-*kán* URU A-ri-ip-ša-a-an za-aḫ-ḫi-ya-az kat-ta da-aḫ-ḫu-un (KBo IV 4 iv 12; AM 133-34); na-an-za-an-kán a-pi-ya-ya ŠA ŠEŠ-YA [na-ak-ki-ya]-an-ni ḫa-an-da-aš da-aḫ-ḫu-un (KBo VI 29 ii 37-38); nu-uš-ši-kán GIŠPA ar-ḫa da-a-i (IBOT I 36 i 24).

16. É-ZU-ma-aš-ši-kán [...] da-an-zi (XXVI 58 obv 18-19); nu-uš-ši-kán :la-pa-na-li-ya-an-za le-e da-an-zi (KBo IV 10 obv 34); na-at-ši-kán GEŠPŪ-za da-a-i (KBo IV 10 rev 19); etc.

17. Examples: ḫar-du (line 24), *e-ēš-tu* (lines 25-26).

18. Line 24 (*ar-ḫu-ut*).

19. E. Laroche apud J. Nougayrol et al., eds., *Ugaritica VI* (1970) 369-73.

KUB XXI 18 as a portion of a Hittite version of the treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Kurtiwaza ("Mattiwaza") of Mittanni (Akkadian version KBo I 1 edited by E. F. Weidner in 1923 [BoSt 8, pp. 2-37, treaty #1]). By comparing these two versions Laroche was able to identify Akkadian *er-se-tu₄ lu-ú šu-ri-pu-ma* "Let the ground become ice!"^{19a} of KBo I 1 rev 67 with XXI 18 rev iv 19 (only partially preserved), which reads: *e-ga-aš x[...]*. Laroche argued that *e-ga-aš* was intended to translate Akkadian *ŠURĪPU* "ice," and that it should be connected with the root of the adjective *ekuna-* "cold, icy" and perhaps even with the verb *igai-*, the medio-passive form of which (*i-ga-e-et-ta*) in VII 58 i 2-5 H. Ehelolf once translated "zerspringt."²⁰ J. Friedrich in his *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* and E. Neu in his dissertation on the medio-passive verbs in Hittite both followed Ehelolf in this translation.²¹ Laroche has proposed to translate *igai-* "refroidir, geler."²² The form *e-ga-aš* in XXI 18 iv 19 could be the nominative singular of an *a*-stem noun *ega-* "ice." As other occurrences of this word in Hittite texts Laroche cited KBo III 41 + KUB XXXI 4 obv 8 (with duplicates KBo XII 22 12; KBo XIII 78 obv 8): *uwami kidanda piddanit ekan utiškimi ta zahḫiškimi ta udne ḫarnikmi*, "j'irai, j'apporterai de l'eka avec ce seau; je livrerai bataille et je détruirai le pays."²³ This text was dealt with six years previously in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 55 (1963), pp. 156-68 by H. Otten. He translated the same lines as follows: "Es wird (nun) dazu kommen, dass ich mit diesem Korbe immer wieder *ekan* bringe. Stets aufs neue werde ich in den Kampf ziehen und die Länder werde ich vernichten, mit diesem Pfeile, den [ich] in ihr Herz schie[ssen werde]."²⁴ The noun which Laroche vocalizes *piddanit* (i.e., *pīt-ta-ni-it*) and translates with French *seau* "bucket" had better be vocalized *pāt-ta-ni-it*, since reference is made in this sentence to the same article which earlier (in line 2 of the text) was spelled *pa-at-tar*.²⁵ In line 2

this *pattar* is held on the head of the speaker (*ḫar-ša-ni-x[...]* *pa-at-tar ki-i[t]-ta*), and it is in this container that the speaker proposes to "bring" (*utiškimi*) the *ekan*. The previously proposed translations of this *pattar*, which occasionally bears the Sumerian determinative GI ("reed"), are "Tablett"²⁶, "Korb"²⁶, and "tray."²⁷ Laroche's "seau" ("bucket") is not impossible, since one assumes that when the word does not bear the determinative GI, it need not have been constructed out of reed. It could be a wooden bucket. We shall see below that in another text the *ekan* was contained in a vessel elsewhere employed for liquids, thus not a basket or tray. As for the meaning of this passage, neither Otten nor Laroche has attempted to explain why "repeatedly (or continually) bringing *ekan* in/on a *pattar*" should be associated with marching to battle and destroying lands. The speaker has appealed for help (*nu uwarra ḫalzaiš*, obv 3) and complained that although he has not been guilty of any wrong doing (obv 4-6), the persons whom he addresses have imposed upon him a "yoke" (*iḡan*, obv 7) which consists of certain forced labor. The lines obv 8-9, which immediately follow the mention of the "yoke," may indeed specify these duties: transporting the *ekan*, and going forth to battle. The vassal states of the Hittites during the period of the empire were required both to bring tribute to the capital city and to provide troop levies on a regular basis.²⁸ A standing obligation of this type could be expressed by means of the verbal forms in *-šak-*. *Ekan-* also occurs in an unpublished text Bo 6980, knowledge of which I owe to the courtesy of H. Otten. This text, which seems from its orthography and morphology (conjunction *šu* in the form *ša-an* [i.e., *š-an*] in line 6: [...]-*ša pa-a-an-zi ša-an pār-ku-nu-wa-an-zi*; the Old Hittite spellings in line 7: [*ŠA A-BI LUGAL zi-ri-al-li ḫa-pa-na zi-ki-ir*, "they kept putting the potstand(s) of the father of the king *ḫapana*(?)²⁹") to be composed in Old Hittite, contains the following in line 11: [...-*zi e-ka-aš ḫa-ri-ul-li da-a-i LÚ.ŠU.I-x[...]*. I would interpret *ḫa-ri-ul-li* as a locative and *e-ka-aš* as a genitive governed by

19a. A. Goetze translates this line (ANET 206): "May the earth be coldness, so that you fall down slipping."

20. *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* I (Weimar, 1930) 400.

21. Friedrich, HWb 81; Neu, SBoT 5 (1968) 68f.

22. *Art. cit.*, 373.

23. French translation of Laroche, *loc. cit.*

24. Otten, ZA 55 (1963), p. 159.

25. *Art. cit.*, p. 162; cf. also HWb, 1. Ergänzungsheft, p. 15 (citing KBo VIII 74 i 7).

26. HWb, p. 166, which cites Friedrich, ZA 37 (1926), pp. 190f. and H. Otten, BiOr 8, p. 226 n. 13.

27. A. Goetze, Tunnawi (1938), p. 118.

28. A. Goetze, Kleinasien (2nd ed., 1957), p. 99.

29. If *ḫa-pa-na* is analyzed as *ḫapan* = *a*, one could translate: "the potstand(s) and *ḫapa-* of the father of the king."

ḥa-ri-ul-li. The direct object of *dai* ("takes" rather than "puts"?) is probably to be found in the lacuna at the beginning of the line. One could translate: "[...] in an *ekaš ḥariulli-* (he) takes." One expects from this passage the *ḥariulli-* to be a container of some sort, and in fact two other Hittite texts mention a ^{DUG}*ḥariulli* which can hold fluids. In IBoT II 91 iii 1'-10' the GAL LÜ-MEŠ GEŠTIN uses the ^{DUG}GAL-*me*-³⁰ to dip (*ḥan-*, line 7³¹) and pours (*laḥuwa*-³²) into the ^{DUG}*ḥariulli-*. In KUB XII 8 ii 2'-3' we read: [...]x *mar-nu-an* 1 ^{DUG}*ḥa-ri-ul-li* [*ḥa*]-*pal-zi-li-it* *šu-u-an ti-an-zi*, "they set out [...] *marnuan*-drink (and) one *ḥariulli*-container filled with *ḥapalzil*." The term *ḥapalzil/ḥapalzir*, which usually bears the determinative TU₇ (= Akkad. *ummaru*³³), denotes a prepared food of the consistency of soup or stew. Thus it appears that the *ḥariulli-*, which in IBoT II 91 iii 2 and 8 and KUB XII 8 ii 3' contained fluids, was used in Bo 6980 11' to hold *e-ka-aš*. This in itself does not prove that *ekaš* was a fluid, but it fits the interpretation that a fluid might always accompany *ekaš*. Certainly, if *ekaš* were ice, its container would have to be able to hold the water produced by melting. Furthermore, Bo 6980 helps by showing that *ekaš* is not "coldness" or "cold weather" but rather an object which can be kept in a container.

But what relationship exists between this word *ega-* (nominative: *egaš*, genitive: *egaš*, accusative: *egan*) and the word *egan* (neuter *n*-stem?) in KUB XIII 2 iv 25? There exists a group of Hittite nouns, members of which were originally neuter *a*-stems with nom.-acc. in *-an* (*pedan*, *yugan*), which developed nominatives in *-aš* (*pedaš*, and possibly **yugaš* if the ^{GIŠ}SUDUN-*aš* in VII 8 iii 6 is really a nominative and not gen. "one of the yoke; a yoke-fellow").³⁴ This development in-

30. For (^{DUG})GAL-*mi-* = ^{DUG}*teššummi-* see H. Otten & V. Souček, SBoT 8 (1969) 101. For (^{DUG})GAL = *zeri* and discussion cf. Güterbock, RHA 74 ('64) 97ff.

31. For *ḥan-* "schöpfen" see Götze, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen I* (1930) 201¹.

32. For *laḥuwa-* "giessen" see HWb 125 and literature cited there.

33. See note 5 above.

34. Both of these developments are documented by A. Götze in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen* (1937), pp. 488-495. Unfortunately, only a portion of Götze's analysis ever found its way into J. Friedrich's *Heth. Elem.* (2nd edition, 1960!) 88. It is Götze's analysis which makes possible a solution to the

fluenced also original *n*-stems of neuter gender (*memiyan* > *memiyaš*; *tuekkan* > *tuekkaš*).³⁵ Perhaps all of our bits of evidence, when considered together, best support the following theory. The Old Hittite noun was a neuter *a*-stem with the following paradigm: *egan* (nom.-acc.), *egaš* (gen.). The nom. sg. *egan* persisted in texts whose date of composition antedated the reign of Šuppiluliuma I. Beginning in the reign of that king we find the appearance of a nom. sg. in *-aš*, namely the *egaš* of the Kurtiwaza (Mattiwaza) treaty.

KUB XIII 2 iv 25-26 (and duplicate KUB XIII 24 13-15) enumerates in three clauses exhibiting similar grammatical structure three tasks of the *aw(a)riyaš išḥaš* in winter: (1) "let the 'places' of the TU₇.ḪÁ (var.: the places [of the TU₇.ḪÁ] and the houses of the TU₇.ḪÁ) be kept in good condition;" (2) "let *egan* be procured;" (3) "let an ice-storage house be built." The *egan* which is to be procured need not be the object which is to be stored in the ice-storage house, but it is certainly possible that it is, especially in view of the close similarity in spelling between *ega-* "ice" (acc.: *e-ka-an* or *e-kán*,³⁶ gen.: *e-ka-aš*, late [and secondary?] nom.: *e-ga-aš*) and this form *e-kán*. Furthermore, if an ice-storage house was built, the same official would have to supervise the obtaining of ice from the mountainsides and frozen streams to stock the É ŠURĪPI. And since we admittedly know so little about the specific vocabulary employed to express the action for obtaining ice, we can neither affirm nor deny that the term used was *da-* "take." The verb *da-* need not be translated "gather" or "collect" in XIII 2 iv 25, since this translation cannot be justified from other occurrences of the verb. Yet a translation "obtain" or "acquire" can be fully supported from other passages. I will cite here only two. *An-da-ma-za šu-me-e-eš ku-i-e-eš* LÜ.MEŠ *E-PIŠ* ^{KUŠ}E.SIR ... *nu KUŠ.GUD ŠA É LÜ.MUḪALDIM da-a-aš-ka₄-te-en dam-ma-i-in-ma le-e da-a-aš-ka₄-te-e-ni*,³⁶ "Further: you who are shoemakers, ... always take oxhides from the (royal) kitchen! Do not take any other!" The shoemakers obtained their

nom. sg. for *egan* given above. The Indoeuropean root of Hittite *ega-* "ice" is *ieg-* (J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, 503; cf. also Pedersen, Hitt. 171).

35. KUB XXXI 4 obv 8 + KBo III 41 rev 7 gives *e-ka-an*; the unpublished duplicate Bo 1868 8 gives the variant *e-kán*. Cf. Otten, ZA 55 (1963) 158f., 163.

36. XIII 3 iii 3-6 (cf. ANET 207).

hides from the kitchen (or "slaughter-house"). The text employs a very general term, *da-*, for this acquisition. Another example, which employs the same construction (passive participle of *da-* + jussive of *eš-*) as XIII 2 iv 25, is XIII 4 iii 7-8: *nam-ma-kán GE₆-az LÚ.MEŠ ú-e-(he)-eš-kat-tal-li-iš da-an-te-eš a-ša-an-du nu GE₆-an hu-u-ma-an-da-an ú-e-he-eš-kán-du*, "Furthermore, at night³⁷

37. *GE₆-az* (=išpandaz), as distinguished from *GE₆-an humandan*, is an ablative of time and conveys a meaning similar to German *nachts* "at night." In this sentence the presence of the particle *-kan* is required by the local case of *GE₆-az*.

let sentries be taken, and let them patrol throughout the night!"

So that, while for the verb *da-* we cannot propose the specific translation "collect," it is quite proper to translate it with "procure" or "acquire," translations which aptly convey the nature of the officer's responsibility with regard to the *ekan*. If the *ekan* were a commodity, one would have to manufacture, cultivate, or purchase it. If, however, it were something which occurs free in a natural state not in need of processing, it could be simply "taken."

Hittite and Ugaritic Words for "Lettuce"

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Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Oct., 1973, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Oct., 1973), p. 234

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

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HITTITE AND UGARITIC WORDS FOR "LETTUCE"

The word *ḫa-az-zu-wa-ni-iš*, which in the Hittite ritual KUB 7 1 + KBo 3 8, i 19–21 occurs in a list of "all the green plants of the garden" (ŠA KIRI₄ SAR.ḪI.A *ḫu-u-ma-an*) and in the birth ritual KBo 17 61:25 is paired with the crocus plant (AN.T[AḪ.]Š[UM^{SA}]^R *ḫa-az-zu-w[a-n]i-iš*), also is found in alphabetic texts from Ugarit (UT 12:3, 11 and 98:9), where it is written *ḫswn* and *ḫśwn* and appears in a grouping of foodstuffs. I propose to identify this garden vegetable's name with the *Wanderwort* which appears as ḫ i - i z^{SAR} in Sumerian, *ḫassū* in Akkadian, *ḫassâ* in Hebrew, *ḫastâ* (pl. *ḫassē*) in Syriac, and *ḫassu/ḫassatu* in Arabic, and which in all these languages denotes "lettuce" (*lactuca sativa*). The ending *-wani-* and *-wn* (is the *w* only a glide?) on the Hittite and Ugaritic words is mysterious. Some bibliography to be added to CAD Ḫ s.v. *ḫassû* follows: ZA 55 56; J. Krecher in HSAO 108; Landsberger Date Palm 16.

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A Join to the Hittite Mita Text

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Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Jan., 1976, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan., 1976), pp. 60-62

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

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A JOIN TO THE HITTITE MITA TEXT

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The tablet published by A. Götze in 1929 as KUB 23 72 and thereafter known in Hittitological literature as the Mita text enjoys considerable importance because of the question of its date of composition.¹ Most Hittitologists who have expressed their opinions in print hold that it belongs in the 15th or early 14th century (Middle Hittite). A. Kammenhuber of Munich contests this early dating and follows the opinion of the first scholars to treat this and closely related texts,² placing it toward the end of the 13th century. KUB 23 72 was translated in its entirety in 1948 by O. R. Gurney, who also added comments of a philological and historical nature.³ H. Klengel published a small fragment in 1968 (KUB 40 10), which fits into a small lacuna on the reverse at the level of lines 36-39 and adds nothing unexpected there. No duplicate of this text has yet been identified.

Since it is through the kind permission of Prof. H. Otten of Marburg that I first gained access to a transliteration of the unpublished fragment 1684/u and make its contents known here with his assent, I should like to dedicate this brief note to him. 1684/u, which joins KUB 23 72 directly at lines 35-45 of the obverse, was recovered during the 1962 season from the dumps of the Winckler-Macridi excavations to the east of the Big Temple in the area marked on the excavation map as L/19.⁴ In all probability, therefore, KUB 23 72++ was originally excavated by Winckler from the Big Temple. The Madduwatta text (KUB 14 1 +KBo19 38) likewise came from this area, as H. Otten noted in 1969.⁵ And a fragment of annals of a king Tudḫaliya (CTH 142.3) which may belong to the Middle Hittite corpus was found in L/18 ('House on the Slope').

The transliteration which follows (of obv. 34-45) shows how the new piece fits in with the text of KUB 23 72.

1. Cf. H. Otten and V. Souček, *StBoT* 8 (1969) and 11 (1969); O. Carruba, *Die Sprache* 12 (1966) 79ff., *ZDMG* Suppl. 1/1 (1969) 226ff.; E. Neu, *IF* 73 (1968) 169ff.; Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *Records of the Early Hittite Empire* (1970); A. Kammenhuber, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 83 (1969) 256ff., *MSS* 28 (1970) 51ff.; H. A. Hoffner, *JNES* 31 (1972) 29-35. E. Laroche in his new *Catalogue des textes hittites* (1971) 19, has declared his uncertainty over the dating of these texts. J. D. Muhly, *Historia* 23 (1971) 139ff., has supported Kammenhuber's position.

2. E. Forrer, *Caucasica* 9 (1931) 7 and 20; A. Götze in *RIA* 1 153 s.v. *Arnuwandaš* IV; A. H. Sayce, *RHA* 1 (1930) 5-8.

3. *Liverpool Annals of Archeology* 28 (1948) 32ff.

4. According to information kindly supplied to me by Prof. H. G. Güterbock, who also generously gave me access to his photo of 1684/u.

5. *StBoT* 11 (1969) 7.

1684/u+KUB 23 72

34. [. . . -]ša-ri nu-za-kán URU-ri ša-ra-a a-pu-u-un tar-na-i nu ka-a-ša
 35. [. . .]ú²-ša ka-a-ša ^dUTU-ŠI li-in-ga-nu-nu-un nu a-áp-pa I-NA
 URU.Pa-aḥ-ḥu-wa
 36. [. . . i]š ^mPi-ig-ga-na-a-aš nu ^mMi-i-ta-aš me-ek-ki ku-it wa-aš-ta-aš-
 ki-it
 37. [. . .]i-da-a-lu-uš an-tu-wa-aḥ-ḥa-aš NI-IŠ DINGIR-LIM-kán a-pa-
 a-aš-ša šar-ra-aš-ki-it
 38. [. . .]İR.MEŠ ^dUTU-ŠI za-aḥ-ḥi-ia-at nu-za-kán A-BU-ŠU ŠUM-an
 ḥal-za-iš nam-ma-aš-za
 39. [. . .]ŠA ^dUTU-ŠI ku-i-uš URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A ^mMi-i-ta-aš a-pa-a-aš-
 ša ḥar-kán-zi URU.Ḫal-mi-iš-na-an ku-i-uš
 40. [. . . URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A] ^mḪa-aš-ša-a-na-aš ku-iš⁶ ḥar-ta nu-wa-ra-aš
 LÚ.IŠ e-eš-ta ú-ga-wa-az Ú-UL im-ma LÚ-aš nu-wa-ra-aš
 Ú-UL pé-eḥ-ḥi
 41. [. . .]DAM.MEŠ-ŠU-NU DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU-NU
 DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU-NU SAG.GEMÉ.İR.MEŠ-ŠU-
 NU GUD.ḪI.A-ŠU-NU UDU.ḪI.A-ŠU-NU QA-DU MI-
 IM-MI-ŠU-NU ar-nu-ut-ten
 42. [. . .]-an ma-ši-wa-an-ta-an le-e ap-te-ni É ^mKa-li-mu-na-ia QA-DU
 DAM-ŠU DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU GUD.ḪI.A-ŠU UDU.ḪI.A-
 ŠU
 43. [. . . pí-i]š-ten ŠA ^dUTU-ŠI-ia A-NA GIŠ.TUKUL ku-i-e-eš pí-ra-an
 ar-ḥa iš-pár-te-er LÚ.MEŠ URU.A-ar-ḥi-i-ta
 44. [. . .] ku-iš šu-ma-a-aš A-NA LÚ.MEŠ URU.Pa-aḥ-ḥu-wa an-da ú-
 wa-an-za na-an ḥu-u-ma-an-ta-an an-da
 45. [. . . -ŠU-N]U DUMU.MEŠ[-ŠU-NU . . .]x šu-me-en-za-an-kán
 URU-ri ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki EGIR-an

The furthest extension of 1684/u toward the original lefthand edge of the obverse is approximately the same as obverse line 1 of KUB 23 72. At these two points there remains missing a bit less than one third of the total original width of the tablet.⁷

Obv. 42 is to be restored: [. . . SÍG.ma-iš-ta-]an ma-ši-wa-an-ta-an, based upon rev. 8 and 15 and KBo 16 47 8'. The two occurrences of the word in KUB 23 72 (rev. 8 and 15) show that the determinative is truly SÍG 'wool' and not SIG₇ '10,000,' as Otten thought in the KBo 16 47 8' occurrence, which he did not notice was the same word as in KUB 23 72 rev. 8.⁸ E Laroche⁹ was right to connect this word with the Luwian passive participle

6. The photo shows a sign impressed over an erased sign. Preferable reading *iš*, although *it* is perhaps not quite excluded.

7. Cf. Götze's remark on published hand copy of KUB 23 72 obv.

8. H. Otten, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 17 (1967) 56 and 57 with note 8.

9. *Dictionaire de la langue louvite* (1959) 70.

maštaimi-, although the forms written with BA (*baštaimi-*) which he cites may have to be kept apart, as they do not clearly modify garments or textiles. From the occurrences now known for SĠG.*maišta-* it would appear that it denotes a strand of yarn. In the Mita passage: É *Ḫa-aš-ša-a-na* É ^m[*Ka-li-m*]u-na *ar-nu-an-zi nu ḥ[u-u-ma-an pa-ra-]q pi-an-zi a-ap-pa* SĠG.*ma-iš-ta-qn mḳ-ši-wa-an-ta-an Ū-UL a[p-pa-an-zi]* (rev. 7-8) it may be translated "they bring (to His Majesty) the estates of Ḫaššana and [Kalim]una ... and hand [over] e[verything]; [they] h[old] back not so much as a strand of yarn." The yarn strand is an item of nugatory value, similar to the use of *ezzan tarú* in the Telepinu Proclamation and the Ḫattušili III apology¹⁰ and Hebrew *ḥuṭ* 'thread, yarn strand' in Genesis 14:23. In KBo 16 47 8' the passage, which reads: [*ma-]a-an* SĠG.*ma-iš-ta-an-na ma-ši-wa-an-ta-an wa-aš-ta-an-zi*, should be translated: "[I]f they sin even (enclitic *-a*) with respect to so much as a strand of yarn." The use of this figure, which appears only in these two texts, would appear to belong to the Middle Hittite idiom which fell into disuse in the empire period.

The name ^mPigganā in obv. 36 occurs again in rev. 34: ^m*Pi-ig[-ga-na-a-aš]*. The name formation is very similar to ^mḪukkanā, also borne by a man residing in this zone during the early 14th century,¹¹ and to ^mḪaššana, whose name occurs in obv. 40 and rev. 7 (in the latter place without the personal name wedge). In addition ^mḪaššana occurs in another Middle Hittite text (KUB 31 103 8') which also mentions the 'men of the city Paḥ[ḫuwa]' (KUB 31 103 edge line 1).¹²

Other points of less immediate importance will be left for the more detailed treatment, which this enlarged text now so clearly deserves.

10. H. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* (1974) 33; M. Tsevat, *JBL* 87 (1968) 460.

11. J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches*, 2 (1930) 103ff.

12. H. G. Güterbock in Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *Records of the Early Hittite Empire* (1970) 4 with note 14, and on pages 46ff. often cited as Cat. 178.10.

Studies in Hittite Vocabulary, Syntax, and Style: Hommage à M. Emmanuel Laroche

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Jul., 1977, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Jul., 1977), pp. 151-156

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1359677>

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STUDIES IN HITTITE VOCABULARY, SYNTAX, AND STYLE

Hommage à M. Emmanuel Laroche

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1. *le-e* in categorical denials

In preparing manuscript of the article on the negative *le* for the CHD¹ the writer found that the following example did not quite fit the normal usage: "In a meadow there stands a *šišiyama*-tree. Beneath it sit a blind man and a deaf man." *tašwanza aušzi le-e duddumiyanzama ištamašzi le-e ikniyanza piddai le-e* UḪ.ḪI.A-aš-ša [. . .]-teš EN.SISKUR QATAMMA *le-e uwanzi [ištamaššanzi . . .]* "Does a blind man see? By no means! Does a deaf man hear? By no means! Does a lame man run? By no means! In the same way let not [the practitioner]s of black magic see, [hear, or . . .] the man for whom this ritual is performed!" KUB 12.62 rev. 7-10 (rit., NH). The usual structure of *mahhan*-QATAMMA clauses (the *mahhan* is omissible) provides for a statement of observable fact in the opening clause followed by wish or command in the QATAMMA analogy. The prohibition of a blind man from seeing, a deaf man from hearing, and a lame man from running is meaningless in the ordinary sense. It is possible, however, that *le-e* stands alone as an independent clause with suppressed *ešzi/ešdu* "Let it not be so!" in the three places where it follows the verbs. Thus the highly unusual sequence of finite verb followed by *le-e* would suggest to us that a clause boundary intervenes and that *le-e* forms its own clause.² Other examples may be cited in which the verb "to be" following *le-e* has been suppressed, leaving the negative in final position: *İR-mi-iš le-e* (KBo 3.27 obv. 11, OH in NS); *tatranzayaššikan alhareš walahhanzašša anda le-e* (KUB 2.2+KUB 48.1 ii 55-56 (OH in NS); *ḪUL-uwašmaš [LÚ.MEŠ].haliyatalluš LÚ.MEŠ.para.uwatallušša le-e* (KBo 4.14 iii 17-18, NH); ANA DINGIR-LIM-*yaššan* *ḪU[L-lu] papratar* (dupl. + NÍ.TE-ši) *namma anda le-e* (KUB 30.38+ABoT 29+ i 36-37=quasi-edition in KBo 23.1, with dupl. or parallel KUB 30.38a, NH). It is doubtless true that, even when the verb is not suppressed, certain conditions call for the negative to follow. Such is the case when the verb opens the clause followed by enclitic *-ma* "but": *da-a-i-ma-a-an-za l[e-e ku-iš-ki]* (KUB 23.68+ABoT 58 obv. 16, MH in NS);

1. The Chicago Hittite Dictionary is a project undertaken in 1975 by the present writer and Prof. H. G. Güterbock, with the assistance of Dr. Howard Berman. It is currently supported in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Research Tools Division. The abbreviations OH, MH, and NH designate probable date of the text's composition in Old, Middle, or New (Empire) Hittite; OS, MS, and NS designate probable date of the copy based on characteristics of palaeography: Old, Middle, and New Hittite script.

2. The writer owes the initial suggestion for this line of interpretation to Prof. E. Laroche.

kuddaniezzima le-e (KBo 16.24 i 19, MH in MS); *dai-ma-z le-e* (KUB 13.20 i 2, MH in NS); *epši-ma-an [le-e]* (KUB 23.77:63, MH in MS). But unless the verb opens the clause with attached *-ma*, the sequence verb + *le-e* must be regarded as not tolerated within the same clause. For this reason the only apparent exception other than the passage which opened our discussion must be explained here. In the MH Bēl Madgalti Instructions the following passage occurs: [(BÂD-*ma*) . . .] *pu-ru-ut ti-ia-u-wa-an-zi x-x³-al-la-a* [(-*an⁴* nam-ma-at)] *iš-tal-ga-an e-eš-du na-aš-ta [š(u-uh-ha wa-ar-h)] u-i za-ap-pi-ia-at-ta-ri le-e* [. . .]⁵ “Let the fortification wall be scraped(?) for the applying of (fresh) mortar! Next let it be smoothed over! A roof (which is) rough⁶ will leak. Let (the roof) not (be rough)!” (KUB 31.86++ ii 15-18, MH in NS).⁷ A duplicate or parallel, KUB 31.89 ii 6-7, preserves another word order: [š] *uhha le-e warhui zappiy[ttari]*, “Let the roof not be rough!⁶ It will leak.”

2. On the verb *tepnu-* with and without *-za*

Although the principal functions of the reflexive particle *-za* have been determined for years, new lexical nuances continue to emerge from the growing literature, showing the importance of continued close observation.⁸ It has been shown that in the case of the particle's employment in nominal sentences a distinction had to be made between the Old Hittite and early Middle Hittite period, during which it was not

3. From the copy in KUB 31.86 the second sign could be either *qa*, in which case a reading [i]š-*qa-al-la-a*[-(*an*)] “scaled, scraped, stripped” is tempting, or *na*, in which case comparison with KUB 31.100 rev. 13 *wa-na-al-li-iš-kán-du iš-tal-ki-iš-kán-[du]* commends a reading *ú?/ua?-na-al-la-a*[-(*an*)]. If the first verb is *wanalla(i)-*, no translation is yet justified, except that it denotes an operation preparatory to the spreading of a smooth mud plaster base (*ištalk-*). It is the smooth plastered surface expressed by *ištalgan* which forms the contrast to the undesirable *warhui* (“rough, overgrown with weeds”) roof.

4. Duplicate KUB 31.89 ii 6' has [x -n]a-[a]l-la-an.

5. The break at the end of the line in KUB 31.86 was ignored by von Schuler, because he was convinced *le-e* went with the preceding verb. Word order considerations exclude the possibility that *le-e* negated the preceding verb. We cannot, therefore, absolutely discount the possibility that a short word followed *le-e*, for there is space for it. But no such additional word is required by our interpretation.

6. Prof. Güterbock has proposed to me what I consider to be the best explanation of *warhui-* in this passage. Proceeding from the well-known usage of *warhui-* to denote terrain covered by dense vegetation, he would envisage the *warhui* roof, which is here undesirable because it will leak, as one in which dormant vegetable remains (seeds?) embedded in the mud plaster sprout and break the watertight surface of the plaster. This inhibits free drainage and allows leaking.

7. Different translation in the edition by E. von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen* (Afo Beiheft 10, 1957) 43.

8. Bibliography of older studies in Friedrich, HWb (1952) 256. Among newer studies compare O. Carruba, *Die Satzeinleitenden Partikeln* (1969), H. A. Hoffner, “On the Use of Hittite *-za* in Nominal Sentences,” JNES 28 (1969) 225-30, “Studies of the Hittite Particles, I,” JAOS 93 (1973) 520-26.

employed, and the late Middle Hittite and New Hittite periods, when it served regularly to indicate a first or second person subject.⁹ It would seem that also in the lexical usage to be examined here one must recognize that the use of *-za* to mark one particular aspect began only in New Hittite, while in the few Middle Hittite examples isolatable to date it was not so employed.

In 1924, J. Friedrich first affirmed the connection of the verb *tepnu-* with the adjective *tepu-*,¹⁰ although Hrozný had entertained and finally rejected that conclusion in 1919.¹¹ It was Friedrich also who first offered the translations “gering machen, gering schätzen.”¹⁰ Both translations have been employed since that date without anyone noting that other elements such as particles usually decide which of the two was intended.

Be it noted here that the following discussion assumes the functional equivalence of *-za* and the dative-locative enclitic personal pronoun of same person and number as the grammatical subject of the clause.¹²

When a New Hittite text employs *tepnu-* without *-za*, the idea is a making small in deed, not a mere belittling in thought or word. *ammukmawa* ḪA.LA.ḪI.A *tepnur* “They curtailed the shares to me” (KUB 5.6+KUB 18.54 iii 69', NH liver oracle); speaking of Tawannanna, DAM-IA SAL.LUGAL *idalawahta kuitki nan tepnuttama kuitki nukan* f.*Tawannannaš* DAM-IA *kuendu* “Did my wife harm the queen in any way, or did she curtail (her) in any way, that the Tawannanna should have killed my wife?”¹³ (KUB 14.4 iii 21-22, NH prayer); “When my father died,” f.*Tawannannanma* m.*Arnuwan*[*daš ŠEŠ-IA ammuqqa*] *UL kuitki idalawahhwen tepnuminan* [*UL kuitki*] “[My brother] Arnuwanda [and I] harmed her in no way, demoted/curtailed her in no way” (KUB 14.4 i 5-6, NH prayer)¹⁴; [. . . *ku*]*wapi AŠŠUM SAL.AMA.DINGIR-LIM-TIM arha* [*tittanunun n*]*an tepnunun* “(After Tawannanna had killed my wife,) when [I removed her] from the office of high priestess, I demoted her/curtailed her power”; (KBo 4.8 iii 13-14, NH); *ABU-IA GIM-an* f.*Tawannannan* SAL.LUGAL *tepnut* “When/how my father demoted T., the queen” (KUB 21.19 i 22, NH prayer); Urḫitešub envied Hattušili and *numukan apeya humanda arha daš numu tepnut* “He took from me all these (lands, which I had governed), and he demoted me/curtailed my power” (Apology of Hatt., iii 58-59); [*nu*]*mu tepnumanzi šana[hta]* “(Urḫitešub) sough[t] to curtail my power” (KUB 21.15 i 14, Hattušili III); similarly KUB 21.37 obv. 20-21.

9. Hoffner, JNES 28 (1969) 225ff.

10. ZA 35 (1924) 16.

11. Boghazköi Studien 3 (1919) 146f. n. 4.

12. Cf. Friedrich, Heth.Elem. (2nd ed., 1960), §239; further examples in Hoffner, JNES 28 (1969) 227.

13. Recognition of interrogative nature of clauses by Forrer, Forschungen 2/1 1-2, and reading *ku-en-du* (against Götze copy *ku-en-da*); cf. also Sommer, AU 78.

14. Restorations follow Laroche in Ugaritica 3 102.

In a Hittite composition the presence of *-za* with *tepnu-* indicates the intended nuance “belittle, despise, underrate”: [DING]IR-LUM-*za* SISKUR *te?-pa-nu-wa-an harti* “Have you despised the ritual, oh god?” (KUB 16.16 rev. 2; liver oracle query, NH); *nuza apenzan GEŠPŪ haštai walliškanzi šumašaza* DINGIR.MEŠ *tepnuir* “(The enemy lands) praise their own military power, but they belittled/despised you, oh gods!” (KUB 4.1 i 17-18, MH ritual and prayer in NS, therefore with NH modernizations); *nuza šumenzan ŠA* DINGIR.MEŠ *memiyanuš tepnuwanzi* “(The enemies) belittle/despise your words, oh gods!” (KUB 17.21+ iv 17-18, MH prayer in MS); *nuwamuza TUR-lan halzeššešta nuwamuza tepnuškit* “(The enemy) called me a child and kept on belittling me” (KBo 3.4 ii 12-13, AM 46). The Middle Hittite prayer KUB 24.4+ 30.12 rev. 9 has the line: “(Since now the enemy lands are constantly attacking Hittite lands,)” *nu-za tu-e-el*¹⁵ ŠUM-KA *te-ep-nu-[u]š-ki-ši* “You are belittling your own name.” The Muṣili prayer to the sun-goddess of Arinna, which is modeled on this MH prayer, has at this spot: *nu-za* DINGIR-LUM *tu-el* ŠUM-KA *le-e te-ep-ša-nu-ši* “Do not belittle(?) your own name, oh goddess!” (KUB 24.3+ ii 52-53).¹⁶

Some Middle Hittite texts which show by ductus that they are also Middle Hittite copies fail to use *-za*, even when this second nuance is intended. This demonstrates that the development of the use of *-za* for this and other lexical distinctions came at the end of the Middle Hittite period.¹⁷ “When from the enemy land some city comes for peace/alliance (with Hatti), you must not make the land of Hatti distasteful/repugnant in his eyes, you must not turn his eyes to the mountain,” ANA KUR.KUR.ḪI.A-*ia piran* KUR.URU.Hatti [. . . *le-e te*]-*ep-nu-uš-ki-te-ni* “you must not belittle the land of Hatti before the (other) lands!” (KUB 23.72+ rev. 61-62, MH Mita text in MS); URU.Hattušanna PANI L[Ú.KÚR *le-e te-ep-nu-ut-t*]*e-ni walluškittenan imma*, “You must not belittle the land of Hattuša before the enemy; rather you should praise it!” (KUB 23.77++ rev. 79, MH treaty with Kaska in MS).

15. On the tablet the second and third signs are transposed: *tu-el-e*.

16. On the verb *tepšanu-*, which to date only occurs here, see the discussion in Sommer, HAB (1938) 141f. n. 4. Since the MH text has *tepnuškiši*, replaced in Muṣili II's time by *tepšanuškiši*, I would think this passage offers scant basis for Sommer's restoration of [a]*m-me-e-la la-a-am-ma-a-mi-it* [*te-ep-ša-nu-ut*] in HAB iii 13-14, unless the scribe of the empire period who made the copy of KUB 1.16 modernized OH *tepnut* here too to *tepšanu*! Gurney, in AAA 27 (1940) 107f., also discussed the verb, arriving at conclusions quite similar to those of Sommer. With Gurney and against Sommer I see no reason to assume an omitted *le-e* in KUB 24.4 on the basis of the later Muṣili version. Sommer argues against interpreting KUB 24.4's version as a rhetorical question, but one can leave it as a bold statement. If the deity fails to protect Hatti against these enemies, she *de facto* allows her name to fall into disrepute.

17. It is also possible that MH examples without *-za* are archaisms, imitating OH style. However one may express it, the usage without *-za* did not establish itself without exception until NH. By any analysis one regards MH as a transition between OH and NH.

3. "My soul goes down to the dark netherworld"

From a passage in the Hittite letter KBo 13.62 (obv. 10-11) one can restore a difficult passage in Mušili's prayer about his discipline of the queen mother Tawannanna.¹⁸ The letter reads: "I punished her with this one thing: that I sent (her) down from the palace and removed her from (serving) the gods in the office of high priestess. This was my only punishment (of her). Oh gods, put this case before yourselves and investigate! Has her life now become miserable, because she is alive, beholds with her eyes the sun-god of heaven,¹⁹ and eats the bread of life? And has my punishment (i.e., that suffered by me)—my wife's death—gotten any better?"²⁰ *ku-en-ta-an-kán ku-it nu-za-kán TI-an-na-aš UD.ĪI.A-uš [ZI-IA da-an-k]u-i da-ga-an-zi-pi kat-ta-an-da [a-pád-da še-er pa-i]š-ki-iz-zi²¹ am-mu-uk-ma tal-wa-tal-la-it²² [x x x-ma-m]u? ku-ri-pa-ah-ta²² nu DINGIR.MEŠ Ū-UL [še-ek-te-e-ni k]u-e-el-la-aš dam-me-eš-ha-aš* "Because (Tawannanna) killed her, through (all) the days of my life [my soul] ever [goe]s down to the [dar]k netherworld [on her account]. Me she has . . . -ed, [m]e she has made a widower(?)." Do you not know, oh gods, whose is the (real) punishment?" (KBo 4.8 ii 14-22, iii 1-4).

18. The literature on this Tawannanna incident is quite large, including not only Forrer, *Forschungen* 2 1ff., Friedrich, *ZA* 37 (1927) 199, Laroche and Güterbock, *Ugaritica* 3 (1956) 101f., Kammenhuber, *ZA* 56 (1964) 176, Houwink ten Cate, *Numen* 16 (1969) 93, and Ünal, *Hattüli* 1 (1974) 41f., but also S. R. Bin-Nun, *The Tawannanna in the Hittite Kingdom* (Heidelberg, 1975) 176f., 189f.

19. On this expression see Kümmel, *StBoT* 3 (1967) 35, who, however, confuses the antecedent and translates "und er sieht . . ."

20. Götze, Hatt. (1925) 63, renders: ". . . meiner Gemahlin Todkrankheit heilte (wurde gut)," interpreting the *ammel dammešhaš* in a footnote as "infolge meiner Massnahme," for which *dammešhaš* (ablative) would have been better. *dammešhaš* is in all likelihood a nominative and the subject of *SIG₅-yattat. hinkan* is in apposition to *dammešhaš*.

21. Because of the rarity of the active forms of *paš-* "go," which prompted Sommer's comments in *HAB* 64 and Friedrich's in *HWb* 155, it is important to support the present restoration *[pa-i]š-ki-iz-zi* with additional comment. Friedrich cites for the active only *paškiwen* (KUB 18.24:4'): "Akt. nur Prt. Pl. 1 . . . , sonst Med.," although Sommer had already cited *[pa-iš-kán-zi]* in *VBoT* 74:4'-5' as probable. One can add *pa-iš-ki-it-ten* in KUB 33.60 rev. 13. The middle forms are probably older, survivals of the so-called "dynamic middle" which elsewhere characterizes Old and Middle Hittite, but is supplanted by active forms in New Hittite.

22. These two verbs only occur here. The second, *kuripah-*, may (as suggested to me by Prof. Güterbock) be related to the substantive *kurimma-/kurimpa-* "orphaned, widowed person," in which case one could translate with Güterbock: "she made me a widower." A related verb *kuripai-*, occurring in an unpublished fragment in Izmir (Izmir 1277), was called to my attention by Dr. H. Berman. I gained access to a transliteration of Izmir 1277 through the courtesy of Güterbock, who had transliterated it in Ankara in the early 1930s, before the former Director-General of Antiquities, Hamit Koşay, sent it with a few others to the Izmir museum. Güterbock kindly allowed me to see his transliteration of the tiny fragment with the comment, "Now it seems that Izmir 1277 is a text similar to KBo 4.8." I was able to join it directly to KBo 4.8 at the top of the preserved portion of column ii and the bottom of column iii. A more formal treatment by me awaits correspondence with the proper authorities in

Although portions of the above required restoration without the aid of a proper duplicate, the essential elements of the phrase found in KBo 13.62 obv. 10-11 are present in the preserved portions, so that one may consider the occurrence of the same basic saying in the two texts established. To assert that one's soul descends to the dark netherworld seems to be an expression of deep sadness or regret, perhaps a conventional saying. Compare the Akkadian proverb: "In prosperity they speak of scaling heaven, under adversity they complain of going down to hell (*irkalla*)" (Ludlul II 46-47).

Turkey. I am authorized here, however, to give the lines which are germane to *kuripah-/kuripai-*. Lines 2'-3' of Izmir 1277, which joined to KBo 4.8 ii, are two lines above the present KBo 4.8 ii', are probably to be restored: [... DAM-IA-ma-m]u²-kán ku-en-ta [am-mu-uk-ma tal-wa-tal-la-it . . .]-ma-mu ku-ri-pa-it. In keeping with the generally repetitive character of the historical narrative portions of this somewhat argumentative prayer, these two lines expressed the same sentiment which was repeated in iii 2-3 below. Only, when the sentiment was repeated in column iii, the essentially synonymous form *kuripah-* was substituted for *kuripai-*.



An Old Hittite Fragment in the British Museum

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Oct., 1978, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Oct., 1978), pp. 341-342

Published by: The University of Chicago Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/544049>

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AN OLD HITTITE FRAGMENT IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

HARRY A. HOFFNER, Jr., *University of Chicago*

IN early October of 1977 under the terms of the National Endowment for the Humanities grant for the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* I was able to travel to Berlin, Paris, and London to collate published tablets of interest for the dictionary. The purpose of the collations was twofold: to check the accuracy of the published copies for specific signs and to determine the script of each tablet or fragment for purposes of dating.

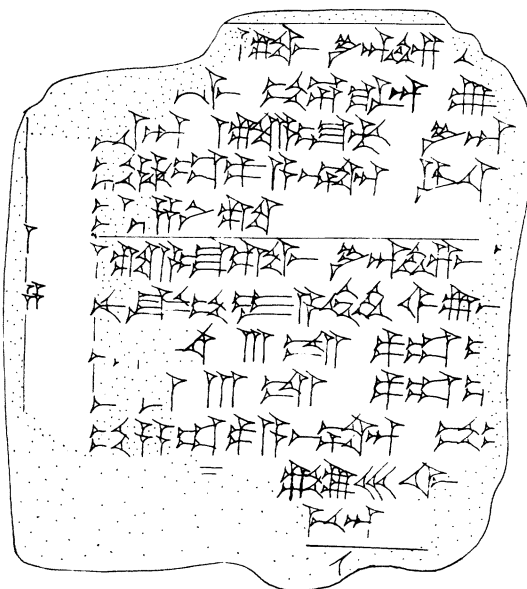


FIG. 1.—BM no. 10856 (copy by H. A. Hoffner, Jr.); earlier copy published by L. W. King, *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1920), pl. 49, no. 95

I would like to thank Professor Edmond Sollberger, Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum, for allowing me to examine the published Hittite fragments in the British Museum. In the course of this examination I discovered that the fragment copied by King as HT 95 is in what now is called the typical old ductus. Since interest in the Old Hittite corpus is at present quite high, and Professor Neu is preparing a corpus of the texts in the typical old writing, it seems useful to report here on this fragment.

[*JNES* 37 no. 4 (1978)]

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0022-2968/78/3704-0006\$00.53.

In general I found that King's copies of all the Hittite fragments were quite accurate, in spite of the fact that they were made prior to the decipherment of the language. Exceptions are in his frequent drawing of the so-called "long LI" (Forrer, *BoTU* I, sign no. 158, first shape; *StBoT* 20, sign no. 274, cols. i-ix) with two Winkelhakens replacing the second rank of short horizontals, and in his drawing the NU in which the Winkelhaken is exactly bisected by the horizontal wedge as though the former lay "below" the latter.

The accompanying new copy shows what appeared from the reexamination of HT 95. As can be seen, the sign shapes are quite close to those represented in cols. i-iii of *StBoT* 20. Note in particular signs E, RA, GA, TA, AH, Ú, and LU. As on other old tablets written in the old script, there is a tendency to crowd together the signs pertaining to the same word. This could be seen with *šu-up-pi-ia-ah-hi* (line 7') even in King's copy. Unnoticed by King was the fact that the first sign in each line began on the lefthand column divider, also a feature of the old tablets.

As expected, the fragment also shows features of Old Hittite orthography: *pé-e-ra-an* (2'), 'ša¹-an or 'ta¹-an (3'), syllabic writing of "god" *ši-ú-n*[i?- . . .] (7'), old writing of *kaluiššana-* as *ga-lu-eš-ši*[- . . .] (11') instead of *kal-ú-is-*

In his *Catalogue des textes hittites* (2d ed.), Laroche classifies HT 95 under entry no. 676.3, which pertains to the cult of Nerik. This classification by Laroche is undoubtedly due to the reading by Laroche in the shelf list KUB 30.68 rev. 4'-5': *ma-a*]l-te-eš-na-aš ^mTa-a-at-ta LÚ. ^aI[M . . . LÚ.ME]Š NAR *ki-i ŠA* ^{URU}Ne-«ni»-r[i-ig-ga . . .] (cf. *CTH*, pp. 173 f.). There is no need for this emendation, in spite of the since-published KBo 16.81 i 1, 11, where a ^mTattaš LÚ. ^a[IM] appears in a text dealing with the storm god of Nerik. Of all the passages which were cited by Laroche in *Les noms des hittites* sub Tatta, that which is most similar to HT 95 is KUB 28.45 vi, and indubitably there (*CTH* 744.2) is where one should place HT 95. And since KUB 28.45 is a copy in New Script of an Old Hittite composition, we may even propose that HT 95 is a fragment of an Old Script copy of the same composition.

Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Orientalia*, 1980, NOVA SERIES, Vol. 49, No. 4 (1980), pp. 283-332

Published by: GBPress- Gregorian Biblical Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.com/stable/43074960>

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COMMENTATIONES

Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites*

Harry A. HOFFNER, Jr.

Part A

1.1 This investigation focusses upon the Hittites. It should therefore be clearly stated how this term is to be understood¹. We choose to restrict it here to the immediate² subjects of that sequence of kings beginning with Anitta of Kuššar (reigned c. 1750 B.C.) and concluding with Šuppiluliuma II (reigned c. 1200 B.C.). We thus exclude from consideration the subjects of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of Syria from the twelfth through the eighth centuries B.C.

1.2 The documentary evidence which we shall take into account derives principally from the remains of the ancient city of Hattuša, which at the end of the 1973 season had yielded nearly 27,000 inscribed clay tablets or fragments thereof³. Tablets from other sites include a few from Egypt (El Amarna)⁴ and Alalakh⁵, and a larger number from Ugarit⁶. The majority of these documents exist in versions composed in the Hittite language. But some were originally drafted in Hittite and then translated into Akkadian, the diplomatic lingua franca of the day. One important text, the Hittite version of the treaty between Hattušili III of Hatti and Ramesses II of Egypt, was composed in Hittite, drafted in Akkadian, transported to Egypt, translated into Egyptian, and inscribed in hieroglyphs on the walls of the temple of the god Amon at Karnak and

* See *Or* 49 (1980) 137.

¹ See H. G. Güterbock, "Toward a Definition of the term 'Hittite'", *Oriens* 10 (1959) 233ff.

² That is, not to the indirect subjects, citizens of vassal states.

³ As of 1953 H. Otten estimated 15,000 (*MDOG* 85 [1953] 28). From 1953 through 1973 approximately 12,000 fragments have been assigned inventory numbers.

⁴ The so-called "Arzawa letters", numbers 31 and 32 in the published corpus of El Amarna letters.

⁵ D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (1953) 116ff.

⁶ Published in J. Nougayrol, *PRU* III (1955), *PRU* IV (1956), and *Ugaritica* V (1968).

of the Ramesseum⁷. The other version, which represents the Egyptian point of view, was translated from the original Egyptian language version into Akkadian and transported to the Hittite capital, where it was found in several copies by Hugo Winckler in 1905/06⁸.

1.3 One fourth of the total of 833 entries in E. Laroche's *Catalogue des textes hittites* (1971) is historical in nature, but this proportion is somewhat misleading, since the number of component tablets and duplicates in a historical composition is much smaller than in other genres such as rituals and festivals. Probably far less than a tenth of the total number of recovered tablets contain historical narrative. The literary effort of the scribes was clearly expended principally on texts other than what we would call "historical".

1.4 In this connection, however, one must keep in mind that historical narrative is found in texts not classified by Laroche under "textes historiques" (nos. 1-220). As in the treaties, so also in the instructions one occasionally finds admonitory stories, such as the Zuliya incident told in *CTH* 265. The so-called "Gerichtsprotokolle" (records of testimony given in trials) contain many examples of personal histories of important as well as minor civil servants⁹. The royal prayers often offer lengthy sections of historical review. For this reason the royal prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal is a not-insignificant historical source for the century preceding Šuppiluliuma I. No one can properly reconstruct the historical events of the reigns of Šuppiluliuma, if he ignores the historical retrospect found in Muršili II's plague prayers. Muršili II's personal life is brilliantly illuminated by his royal prayers which relate the troubles he experienced with his father's last wife (*CTH* 70 and 71, classified in *CTH* under "textes historiques", although in form they are clearly royal prayers), and by the historical introduction to the ritual designed to heal the king from hysterical aphasia (*CTH* 486). Some of the texts which record oracular inquiry (*CTH* 561ff.) deal with historical matters, although they are clearly not narrative.

1.5 In each literate society of the ancient Near East those historical texts which focussed upon the activities of the king tended to devote most of their attention to certain preferred occupations: war-making, hunting, worshipping, presiding at festivals, or the commissioning of building projects. We shall seek to determine the range of royal activities which

⁷ J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (1969) 199ff. with bibliography.

⁸ Ibid. 201ff. (translation by A. Goetze).

⁹ Virtually all examples of such texts edited by R. Werner, *StBoT* 4 (1967).

the Hittite historiographers saw fit to include in their literary record (cf. [3.8f.] [4.1-3], [5.1], [6.2], [12.3], [12.6-7]).

1.6 The pictorial record of the king's activities (i.e., monumental art) supplements the written record¹⁰. It seems that in the pictorial presentation the emphasis is slightly different from that in the literary. In the literary record we see the king making war, worshiping, presiding at festivals, adjudicating, and making proclamations. On rock reliefs and on seal impressions the king is occasionally shown in battle dress, albeit not in the act of striking a foe (cf. for example Tudhaliya on the rock relief in Kemal Paşa). More often he is depicted in the dress and pose of worship, standing before an altar (Hattušili III at Fraktın, Muwatalli at Sirkeli, unnamed king on relief from city walls of Hüyük in Alaça), or standing upon two deified mountains (Tudhaliya on wall relief at Yazılıkaya), or standing in the embrace of his patron deity (Muwatalli on his seal, Tudhaliya IV on his seal and at Yazılıkaya). Never in the pictorial record is the king shown as judge, either issuing the law or enforcing it.

1.7 The documentation informs us that written records were kept by the Hittites both on clay tablets and on wax-covered wooden tablets¹¹. It appears that there existed a degree of occupational specialization such that one who was a scribe of the wood tablets would not normally also be a scribe of the clay tablets. The existence of the wood-tablet literature, unfortunately lost to us insofar as it was not subsequently transferred to clay tablets, raises the question of the function of these tablets. What kind of material would be recorded by the wood-tablet scribes, as opposed to the clay-tablet scribes? Does the answer to the preceding question inform us what kind of records in the estimation of the Hittites were more important for preservation than others? Was raw data for subsequent historiographic usage originally inscribed on the wood tablets?

1.8 Of course, many questions about the hieroglyphic wood-tablet texts cannot now be answered. I give here but the briefest of summaries of what is known. From the texts, in which such tablets are known by the syllabically written *gulzat(t)ar* (ablat. *gulzat(t)anaz*), the Sumero-gram *GIŠ.ĜUR^(TE)* (complement implies Akkad. *uṣurtu*) and Akkadogram *GIŠLI-U₆*, it is reasonably clear that they served as the ordinary records for ever-changing statistics (inventories of items in stock in the royal magazines, etc.). But in addition they were used, and especially in Kizzu-

¹⁰ See E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (New York, no date); K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter: die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus* (München 1976).

¹¹ See H. Otten, "Bibliotheken im Alten Orient", *Das Altertum* 1 (1955) 79ff.

watna, to record the traditional rites accorded to the gods in festivals and rituals. There are a few passages which might indicate also that these were used to record sales. But to date I know of no evidence that they were employed to record historical narrative.

1.9 Rarely the Hittites wrote on stone. The longest Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from the Empire Period is the Nişantaş inscription of Šuppiluliyama II¹³. Because of its badly weathered condition this inscription is intelligible only in its opening words, which identify its royal author. Formerly it was ascribed to Šuppiluliuma I¹³ and dated almost two centuries earlier. Now it must be regarded as one of the very latest inscriptions which fall within the chronological limits of our definition of Hittites (i.e., c. 1200 B.C.)¹⁴. Güterbock has pointed out that KBo XII 38 i 1 through ii 10 contain a Hittite version on a clay tablet of a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on a statue of Tudhaliya IV, which his successor Šuppiluliyama made and had inscribed for his Everlasting Peak¹⁵. Since Šuppiluliuma's inscription recorded his predecessor's "manly deeds" and is clearly historical, it furnishes us with the only clear example of a historical inscription on stone in hieroglyphic Luwian during the empire period. Güterbock also suggested that the continuation of KBo XII 38 (ii 22ff.), contains a translation of another hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of Šuppiluliyama which is comparable to the Nişantaş inscription and which deals with a building on a mountain peak comparable to Nişantepe. The second hieroglyphic inscription, translated in KBo XII 38 ii 22ff., was also dealing with historical matters, principally a Hittite invasion of the island of Cyprus. Thus both examples would prove that, at least toward the end of the Empire Period Hittite kings wrote historical inscriptions on stone in hieroglyphs. See also [17.9] and [17.10].

1.10 Certain texts of the utmost historical import (state treaties) were conserved in the magazine rooms of the Great Temple of the Storm God in the Lower City¹⁶. From the wording of the texts themselves we learn that their place of conservation was chosen to allow the deity to exercise close supervision over them¹⁷. But other texts which were not treaties were recovered by the excavators in the Great Temple. By what

¹³ K. Bittel and H. G. Güterbock, *Boğazköy* (1935) plate 25; see H. Bosser, *Afo* 9 (1935) 172ff.

¹³ So A. Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 146, note 46.

¹⁴ H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 26 (1967) 81 with note 18; H. Otten, *Die hethitischen historischen Quellen* (1968) 7; H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 29 (1970) 74.

¹⁵ *JNES* 26 (1967) 81.

¹⁶ The selection of texts numbered 35 through 97 in *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (henceforth KBo) XIX, all from the Big Temple, will serve to illustrate this point.

¹⁷ V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge* (1931) 100ff.

criterion was it decided to store them there? Could the find spot of each tablet or fragment be important, not only for seeking to reconstruct individual tablets from fragments or series from individual tablets, but also in order to understand how the Hittite scribes regarded the content of these tablets? See [17.8].

1.11 Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine the find spot of a given tablet or fragment. Not only were some fragments and whole tablets unearthed by peasants or visitors to the mound and sold on the antiquities market, but even those tablets excavated by the German team during the years of Hugo Winckler's directorship often cannot be attributed to a find spot, because Winckler's records were inadequate. Whenever a fragment which was found in the years of the Bittel directorship (and whose find spots are clearly preserved) can be joined to tablets unearthed during the Winckler years, it is possible to determine the provenience of the entire piece. But this is unfortunately not a frequent occurrence. It is not therefore possible for the present to assign all known written records (and for the present inquiry most important, the historical texts) to their proper find spots. Some help in reconstructing the original locations of the tablets can be found in the Hittite scribes' equivalent of the modern library shelf list, what some Hittitologists call the "catalogues". E. Laroche has devoted forty pages in the second edition of his *Catalogue des textes hittites*¹⁸ to the study of the remains of these ancient shelf lists. But at present even they are insufficient aids to a successful reconstruction.

1.12 Furthermore the task is not completed, when one succeeds in identifying a fragment's find spot. One must ascertain whether this locus was itself a primary one (i.e., a library or archive) or a secondary one (a trash heap, where tablets of no further value were discarded; a spot where valueless tablets were used as simple fill). The temple magazine rooms were clearly not places for discarded tablets. But just exactly what was the status of buildings A and K on the Acropolis? Or of the House on the Slope? Were they libraries, archives, scribal schools? Or were they something else?

1.13 Finally before we begin the consideration of individual compositions (Part B) and what has been concluded about them in previous studies of our subject (Part C), we should consider the observations of Mario Liverani in his article "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts"¹⁹. Liverani draws the analogy between a living human

¹⁸ (Abbreviated: CTH) pp. 153-193 (chapter XIV).

¹⁹ In G. Buccellati (editor), *Approaches to the Study of the Ancient Near East* (1973, = *Or* 42; fasc. 1-2) 178-194.

informant and a non-living documentary one. The former is subject to cross-examination; the latter is not. Thus, while the former can be a source for the knowledge of other subjects outside himself, the latter cannot properly be such. In the past, so observes Liverani, historians have utilized ancient documents as sources for the knowledge of what the documents say, e.g., historical events, personages, civilizations or societies described. This procedure entails two serious difficulties: "(1) if the textual information is wrong (or in particular internally contradictory), the error passes inevitably into the historical reconstruction; and (2) the type of information in the texts does not always satisfy the needs of the scholar, who has different scopes and interests from the ones of the writers of the documents, and who would like to obtain certain information for which the texts, to his dismay, are uncommunicative or altogether silent"²⁰. Thus Liverani recommends viewing the document as "*a source for the knowledge of itself* — i.e., as a source of knowledge on the author of the document, whom we know from the document itself" (italics his). Thus, while we have a legitimate interest in reconstructing Hittite history, we must recognize that our individual sources are in fact only the best evidence for their own understandings of the order and meaning of past events. As such they may give us a highly distorted view of the events themselves. The consolation is that for our immediate concerns, namely the Hittites' own conception of their past, those same documents furnish us with the best kind of evidence we could desire. An analogy may be found in the visual arts. In the absence of a photograph one may study a painting or a sculpture in order to obtain an impression of the visual appearance of an object. But if either the object itself or a photograph is available for view, it is even more interesting to study the work of art alongside the photographic image in order to learn *how the artist saw* the object. This is precisely what we should like to be able to do with Hittite historical texts. Only — to retain the analogy — we have no photographs to tell us about the exact nature of the events described. We have only the artist's impressions. Equally distressing is the fact that we possess only a portion of the ancient historiographic endeavors which were undertaken during the some five centuries of our period. What we may learn, therefore, is not a single uniform "view" of history writing held by the Hittites, but many individual viewpoints held by some of the Hittites who undertook to write down portions of their past as they conceived it.

²⁰ Ibid. 179.

Part B: Historical Documents

2.0 Hittitologists are fortunate in having a convenient catalogue of historical and historiographic texts comprising entries 1 through 216 of E. Laroche's *Catalogue des textes hittites* (abbrev. *CTH*)²¹. The *CTH* includes not only the grouping of all published and some unpublished text witnesses under individually numbered entries entitled as to their author and subject-matter but also an abbreviated bibliography of editions or important studies of the texts in question. The *CTH* usually does not indicate the find spot of the tablets nor the ductus (i.e., whether or not it is in Old Hittite writing or is a late copy), but it usually does indicate whether or not the language of the text is Old Hittite. And since the texts whose period of composition is the earliest are grouped by Laroche at the beginning (entries 1-39), it is possible for our discussion of the most important of these texts to follow his sequence.

2.1 We will not give separate consideration here to Babylonian quasi-historiographic literary works such as the Sargon and Naram-Sin legends, which are extant in Hittite translations, except when discussing their influence upon native historical literature. For clearly foreign literature in translation is not primary evidence for the native art, although some degrees of Hittite adaptation of the Babylonian originals must be allowed. In fact we exercise embarrassingly little control over the degree of adaptation in these cases, since we possess only a small portion of the Babylonian version of the Sargon "King of Battle" text (exemplar from El Amarna)²², and somewhat more of the Naram-Sin materials (the most complete exemplar is Neo-Assyrian²³, but there are fragments of an Old Babylonian exemplar re-copied at Hattuša)²⁴.

2.2 Composed during the Old Kingdom and preserved in at least one copy showing the old ductus (KBo XXII 2) is a text which its editor H. Otten has styled "Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa"²⁵. The copy in the old writing (KBo XXII 2 = Bo 70/10) was recovered from soundings west of the great temple of the Storm God in the Lower City during the 1970 season. Portions of the text were already known from KBo III 38, which had been transliterated by E. Forrer in 2 BoTU 13. The more recently recovered tablet fragment, however, allowed a recon-

²¹ See my review of this book in *JCS* 24 (1972) 183-187.

²² EA 359. See E. Weidner, *Bogh.-Stud.*, Heft 6 (1922), and H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 43 (1934) 86-91.

²³ From Sultantepe: see O. R. Gurney, *Anatolian Studies* 5 (1955) 93ff. and H. A. Hoffner, *JCS* 23 (1970) 17ff.

²⁴ KBo XIX 98 and 99, not edited to date.

²⁵ StBoT 17 (1973).

struction of the highly important beginning of the narrative. Of great interest is the fact that the text commences with a narrative containing much legendary or mythological material, which is not without parallel in the quasi-historical writings of the Old Kingdom. The narrative relates how once a queen of the city of Kanesh (= Neša = modern site of Kül-tepe) ²⁶ bore thirty sons in the course of a single year. She refers to her offspring as a "gang" (*walkuwan*), a term likewise used disparagingly of an invading horde of Hurrian troops in the Old Hittite text KBo III 40 (= BoTU 14a) obv 15 ²⁷. Deciding to rid herself of this unwanted brood, the queen has baskets caulked with dung, sets the children therein, and puts them into the Halys River (= Kızıl Irmak) to float downstream to the (Black) Sea. Bordering on the river not far from its opening on to the Black Sea was the land of Zalpa/Zalpuwa (the two spellings are used interchangeably in this text). There the gods (in what form we are not told) rescue the infants from the river and raise them to manhood. Meanwhile the Queen of Kanesh has borne thirty daughters, again in one year. But these she has decided to keep. When the boys have grown up, they set out in the direction of Kanesh/Nesha. At a stop-over in Tamarmara they learn of the thirty daughters of the Queen of Nesha and conclude that she may be their own mother. They continue to Nesha, but when they arrive, the gods cause their mother not to recognize them. She offers to them her thirty daughters in marriage. The older brothers do not detect that these are their sisters, but the youngest boy does, and warns his siblings against incest ²⁸. Here the tablet becomes illegible and we lose the train of the narrative for awhile. When the story resumes, it quickly progresses from legendary pre-history to the period of Labarna, Hattušili and Muršili.

2.3 H. Otten assumes that in the lost middle portion of the story the brother-sister marriages took place, and that the Hittite historian used this tale of incest committed by the early citizens of Zalpuwa to lay a basis for the subsequent destruction of the city during the reign of Hattušili I. Another Hittite historian used a different basis (cf. [5.4]). It has also been suggested that the river voyage of the thirty sons from Nesha to Zalpuwa reflects the old historical tradition of the settlement of Zal-

²⁶ H. G. Güterbock, *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958) 46*-50*, and H. Otten, *StBoT* 17 (1973) 57.

²⁷ The Hittite word *walkuwan* is derived from a shorter stem **walgu-*, and is probably from a proto-IE **wolgu-*. Cognate is Latin *volgus* (masc. and neut.) "multitude, people".

²⁸ On the attitude toward incest among the Hittites see H. A. Hoffner, *Orient and Occident: Essays Presented to C. H. Gordon* (AOAT 22 [1973] 81-90). Note also R. Haase, *WO* 9 (1977) 72-76.

puwa by colonists from Nesha. Such a legendary tale is, of course, a fruitful field for speculations, and it is impossible at present to discount any of them.

2.4 Of central importance is the indisputable fact that the author has used a semi-legendary account to introduce and explain the non-legendary historical narrative which followed. In essence this format is the same as we find in later historiography (Telepinu Proclamation, historical prologues to the state vassal treaties; cf. [5.0], [9.2]). What distinguishes it from historiographic works of the latter half of the 16th century and later is the legendary cast of the prologue narrative, which it shares with other historiographic works attributable to the first Hittite kings (c. 1650-1550).

2.5 Also shared with the Old Hittite "Palace Chronicle", which dates from the reign of Muršili I, is the manner in which in the Zalpa text the successive Hittite kings are designated. In the Zalpa text three consecutive generations of anonymous Hittite kings having dealings in Zalpa are referred to as "grandfather of the king", "father of the king", and "the king"²⁹ (cf. [6.1]). It is thought that the "grandfather" is the immediate predecessor of Hattušili I, whom we elsewhere know only by the dynastic title Labarna³⁰. The "father" would be Hattušili I himself, and "the king" Muršili I. In the Palace Chronicle the "father of the king" is Hattušili and "the king" is Muršili. Therefore both texts were composed during the reign of Muršili I (c. 1620-1595).

2.6 The historical inscription of Anitta, son of Pithana, king of Kuššar, was first edited in transliteration by E. Forrer in 1922³¹. Since then its three exemplars have been published in cuneiform copies, and it has been translated and studied many times. Both Anitta and his father Pithana are mentioned in documents from the Old Assyrian trading colony at Kül-tepe. It is thought that Anitta's rule coincided with the period represented by kārūm Kaniš I b, which is contemporary with the reigns of Šamši-Adad I and Išme-Dagan of Assyria (middle chronology, c. 1814-1742) — first half of the 18th century. The Hittite composition which concerns Anitta was long believed to be a late copy from the 13th century. In 1951 Otten showed that the orthography and grammar of the text were Old Hittite³², and in the 1960s and 1970s it has become clear that the sign forms of copy A are typical Old Hittite (reign of Hattušili I or Muršili I).

²⁹ H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938) 101-104; H. Otten, *StBoT* 17 (1973) 8-9, 62.

³⁰ S. R. Bin-Nun, *RHA* 30 (1972) 54-80.

³¹ *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* (= WVDOG 41 and 42; Berlin 1922 and 1926).

³² *MDOG* 83, 39ff.

Since Pithana and Anitta, though clearly Anatolian natives and not Assyrians, were never mentioned as ancestors by the Old Hittite kings, it was assumed that they were not Hittites. The text, it was supposed, must have been composed in another language and was subsequently translated into Hittite. The prime candidate for this other language was Hattic, the language of many of the non-Hittite Anatolian rulers of the period. In 1974 E. Neu produced a new edition of the text, utilizing the latest insights into the Old Hittite language. Neu pointed out that translations into Hittite from Hattic are always marked by a certain awkwardness (*Holprigkeit*), which betrays them as translations. The Anitta text, on the other hand, shows none of this translational syntax, but appears to be a fresh composition in Old Hittite³³. If Neu is right, there is no cogent reason to exclude this text from the corpus of Hittite historical texts. What remains to be investigated is whether in its historiographic characteristics it resembles other known Hittite examples from the Old Kingdom³⁴.

2.7 A. Goetze long ago pointed out that the royal activities described in the Anitta text, in particular the building activities and the royal hunt, are somewhat atypical (cf. [17.12])³⁵. The inclusion of events from the reign of the author's immediate predecessor (§§ 1-2) fits well into the practice of retrospect in Hittite historiography. The use of curses pronounced on those who would resettle a sacked enemy city (§ 6, § 12), or on one who alters the king's inscription (§ 9) cannot be documented in the same form in Hittite historical texts. But while we cannot cite curse wording for abandoned cities, we can show that in the annals of Hattušili I (§ 6) the King sowed the ruins of the city of Ullama with *zahheli*-weeds, just as Anitta did to Hattuša (Anitta text, § 11). The curse upon him who changes (Hittite *hulli*-/*hulla*- seems to be a near synonym of *wahnu*- "change, alter")³⁶ the wording of Anitta's inscription can be paralleled from historical fragments and treaties, both in general³⁷ and in the specific wording with the verb *hulli*-/*hulla*-³⁸. Neu pointed out that Anitta's subjects in Kanesh/Neša, for whom the gate inscription was prepared, would have

³³ E. Neu, StBoT 18 (1974) 132ff.

³⁴ A modest beginning was made by Otten, MDOG 83 (1951) 39, 44, and A. Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 148. See also H. Cancik, *Mythische und historische Wahrheit* (1970) 47-48.

³⁵ *Kleinasien* (²1957) 92.

³⁶ For Hitt. *hulla*/i- I favor the basic meaning "turn, reverse, change". The verb describes turning back, repulsing or defeating an enemy, contesting or changing an agreement (Hittite law no. 29), and changing or altering the wording of a text.

³⁷ Examples cited by E. Neu, StBoT 18, 76.

³⁸ *kuišat hullizz[i tuppiyaš]* INIM.MEŠ *naš ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.KÚR-ŠUNU *eš[du] nan parhiškandu* "Whoever alters them, the words [of the tablet], let him be an enemy of the gods!" KUB XI, 54 rev. 2-5; compare IBoT III 131:5.

spoken Nesite (= Hittite), so that there is no linguistic or historical reason to doubt that the text was originally composed in Hittite.

2.8 The manner of designating years in the Anitta text is quite different from Hittite annals. In Anitta the word "year" occurs twice: in § 3 in the expression "after my father Pithana (died), in the same year" (*šaniya witti*); and in § 17 in the expression "in the following year" (*wettan-dannieššima*). The latter might be compared with MU.IM.MA-*annima* of the annals of Hattušili I and the MU(.KAM)-*annima* of the annals of Muršili II, but the correspondence is incomplete (cf. [3.4]).

2.9 Otten (1951) and Cancik (1976)³⁹ have claimed that the Anitta text was organized around the theme of the rise of the dynasty of Kuššar. Cancik admits⁴⁰ that this theme is only implicit in the text and must be deduced. But if, as he earlier states, works organized about a theme must be integrated by every literary means at the disposal of the author, why do we see so little evidence of the employment of literary devices to subordinate each component of the inscription to the single theme?

2.10 Certainly Old Hittite possessed sufficient syntactic means to order the presentation in the same degree that Cancik has shown was done by Muršili II. Was this in fact even attempted in the Anitta text? To a limited degree it was. Historical retrospect was supplied in the course of the narrative by using the adverbs *karu* ... [*app*]ezziyana ... "previously ... but later ..." (lines 39-42, § 11)⁴¹. But there is no trace of the techniques developed later for portraying simultaneous action in different locations, or for showing contemplated strategy which was never actually carried out through the use of the grammatical irrealis mode. Indeed it appears that the employment of the linguistic and literary devices for purposes of historiographic technique which Cancik has demonstrated for Muršili II and later was not developed until after the Old Kingdom. And, given the capacities of Old Hittite syntax for subtle distinctions, it is unlikely that this undeveloped historiographic style may be attributed to linguistic inadequacy. Rather the historiographic technique required centuries of practice before it could become the articulated science which flourished under Muršili.

3.0 After the Anitta text the oldest Hittite text in annalistic style (cf. [18.1], I) is the text known as "the manly deeds of Hattušili"⁴². The

³⁹ H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951) 44, cited by H. Cancik, *Grundzüge der he-thitischen und alttestamentlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (1976) 36, 81, note 110.

⁴⁰ *Grundzüge* 36.

⁴¹ Use in the Muršili annals is discussed by H. Cancik, *Grundzüge* 21f.

⁴² H. Otten, *MDOG* 91 (1958) 73ff.; A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962) 24ff.; H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 18 (1964) 1ff.; edition by F. Imparati and Cl. Saporetti, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 14 (1965) 40-85.

principal exemplars of this text ⁴³ were found in 1957 in the remains of Building K on the acropolis. Although, like several other historical works of the Old Kingdom (cf. [5.0], [9.0]) this composition was passed on in both Akkadian and Hittite versions, its two versions are not contained on the same tablet in parallel columns, as one finds in the Political Testament of Hattušili (cf. [5.0]).

3.1 No known copy of Hattušili's annals in the old handwriting has been found. One cannot prove therefore whether or not both versions existed already in the Old Kingdom.

3.2 Priority has been claimed for the Akkadian version by Otten and Kammenhuber, and for the Hittite by Goetze ⁴⁴. Whereas parts of at least four exemplars of the Hittite version exist, only one copy of the Akkadian has been identified. This might suggest that, while the Hittite version had a long history of transmission, the Akkadian translation was recently made and never re-copied. But even the Akkadian version shows signs of copyist errors, which proves that it too had a history of transmission, even if a shorter one. And since Akkadian was not the native language in Hatti, one expects more copies in Hittite.

3.3 In their present copies both versions are characterized by grammar and vocabulary which appear in Akkadian and Hittite texts composed in the late (Empire) period. But it should be noted that both contain linguistic features which can only be regarded as survivals from Old Hittite prototypes ⁴⁵. It is therefore probably the wisest course to give up any attempt to show absolute priority of either version. Even if the text was first drawn up in Akkadian, unless the composer was a native speaker of that language, it was thought out in Hittite and translated mentally into Akkadian. The text is clearly a Hittite composition in the fundamental sense.

3.4 Of what does the Hittite annalistic style consist? The developed style of Muršili II will be considered later under [12.0] and following. The embryonic style evident already in the Hattušili I text (c. 1650) may be described as follows.

H. Cancik ^{46a} has classified the text as a "Tatenbericht". He notes that it lacks causal clauses, hypothetical and concessive constructions ^{46b}, which characterize the historical compositions of Muršili II and his successors. Nevertheless he believes that it does contain many elements

⁴³ H. Otten, *MDOG* 91 (1958) 73ff.

⁴⁴ Otten, *ibid.*; Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 154 note 101; Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962) 24f.

⁴⁵ H. C. Melchert, *JNES* 37 (1978) 1-22.

^{46a} H. Cancik, *Mythische und historische Wahrheit* 49f.

^{46b} But the irrealis is employed in Hattušili's Political Testament: §§ 16, 17 and 21; cf. [5.1-3], [16.25].

of the later historiography in germ form: political and historical excurses in which the author seeks to defend his claim to be the first king to cross the Euphrates River ^{46c}, and the scheme of military action in which the opponent is not just a passive object of the king's action, but an equal participant with his own initiative. The deeds of the king are organized according to the king's regnal years, of which only the first five are included on this tablet. Because the colophon is broken where the notation "complete" or "incomplete" once stood, we do not know if originally there was a second tablet containing events from later years. To be sure, the years are not actually numbered in the text. No new section commences with the words "in my ...-th year". But then neither is this practice attested for the much more developed annals texts of Muršili II. The introductory formula for each new year in the Hittite version is *MU.IM.MA-an-ni-ma*, "in the following year" ⁴⁷. In his Ten-Year Annals Muršili II (c. 1330) employs *MU-an-ni-ma* and *MU.KAM-an-ni-ma* regularly to mark the transition to the narration of a new year's events. In the Detailed Annals of Muršili II, on the other hand, the formula is quite different: *maḥḥan-ma ḥamešḥanza kišat* "but when it became spring, ..." ⁴⁸.

3.5 The narration of the king's exploits is carried out in the first person in the Hittite version, the same usage as is observed in the later annals of Tudhaliya, Arnuwanda, Muršili II and Hattušili III, as well as by the earlier Anitta text, the Ammuna text, and the Telepinu Proclamation. In contrast to this the Akkadian version is phrased in the third person, as is the Siege of Uršu text [4.0] composed in Akkadian.

3.6 Within the framework of the regnal years the narrative assumes the form of a military itinerary, including in proper sequence the foreign cities and lands visited by the king and his army during each year. "I went on to the city of Zalpa and sacked it... The next year [I] went to the city of Alalḥa and sacked it. Afterwards I went to the city of Waršuwa (= Uršu). From Waršuwa I went to Ikakališ. From Ikakališ I went to Tašḫiniya" (§§ 2-4). The Hittite vocabulary employed in the itinerary is quite simple and prosaic (*paun* "I went", *ḥarninkun* "I sacked") and is shared by almost all known Hittite military narratives.

^{46c} H. Cancik, *ibid.* 79-80.

⁴⁷ A. Goetze in *JCS* 16 (1962) 24ff. has suggested that this may represent a Hittite scribe's misunderstanding of Sumerian *MU.IM.MA* (= Akkadian *šad-daqda* "the previous year, last year"), thinking it to be equivalent to Akkadian *ana balāṭ* "in the following year", the formula employed in the Akkadian version of Hattušili's annals. If so, the same mistake was not made in all copies of the Hittite version, for KBo X 3 i 15 ("D") has *MU-an-n[i-ma]*, just as Muršili II in his Ten-Year Annals.

⁴⁸ KBo IV 4 iv 42 (A. Goetze, *Die Annalen des Muršilis* [MVAeG 38, 1933], henceforward *AM* 138-140); H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* (1974) 12.

3.7 The phraseology of the Hattušili I annals is by no means so stereotyped as the greater part of the Ten-Year Annals of Muršili, but it resembles in its greater variety of phraseology the latter's Detailed Annals and of col. IV of KUB 26,71 (cf. [8.2]). The author does not, for instance, find it necessary in enumerating each victory to credit the divine assistance in some stock line such as "the gods ran before me and I smote the enemy". Rather, divine assistance is described in several ways and rarely in the same way twice. The Akkadian version at § 5 speaks of the goddess placing the king on her lap⁴⁹. The Hittite version is broken at this point. The gesture is protective, as can be seen from the Akkadian references cited by von Soden⁵⁰. It is known from only one other Hittite text, the mythological tale of the Fisherman and the Foundling (CTH 363)⁵¹, where its significance is also protective, if not legitimizing⁵². Hattušili's description of the deity running before him in battle (i.e., aiding him) in § 5 is shared by virtually all subsequent combat descriptions in Hittite. In §§ 7 and 14 the Hittite version contains the phrase "in the midst of the lands the sun god(dess) stood (and aided me)". But in the one place where the corresponding expression in the Akkadian version is intact it reads "(the sun god stood) for the protection of the lands"⁵³ or "to the rear of the mountains"⁵⁴. However it is resolved in detail, the expression is striking and apparently was not subsequently employed by other writers of military annals.

3.8 Since a prime function of the Hittite royal annals was the commemoration of the manly exploits, wisdom, and achievements of the king (on which see further in [12.1]), it is clearly important to note how each of the various annalistic compositions presents the royal person.

3.9 Foremost is the titulary, which begins the inscription. H gives: "[Thus (says) the *tabar*]na, Hattušili, Great King, [king of the land of Hat]ti, man of Kuššar ... the brother's son of the *tawananna*", while A offers only the strictly abbreviated: "the Great King, the *tabarna* ... [the brother's son] of the *tawa[nanna]*". "The *tabarna*" is a dynastic title, probably of Hattic linguistic origin. "Great King" expresses the king's claim

⁴⁹ *ana sūnišu iškunšu*, KBo X 1 obv. 13.

⁵⁰ *AHw* 1059, righthand col., near top, sub 1,c.

⁵¹ KUB XXIV 7 iv 40; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JNES* 27 (1968) 201 with note 27.

⁵² The phrase: "(the deity) took me/him by the hand" also occurs in §§ 5 and 9. Muršili II's Detailed Annals (KBo V 8 iii 41-42) has: *numu* ⁴*U* NIR.GÁL EN-IA ŠU-an *harzi našmu pīran huyan*za "The mighty storm god, my lord, holds my hand and runs before me", and the Apology of Hattušili, I 21: *numu* ⁴*IŠTAR* GAŠAN-IA ŠU-za *IŠBAT* "Ishtar, my lady, held me by the hand".

⁵³ *ana ki<di>nnat mātāti*; so A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962) 25f.

⁵⁴ *ana qinnat šadē*; *AHw* 922, left col., sub 3,a.

to hegemony over other kingdoms, important in view of the record of military expeditions and conquests which follow, and the striking scenes of the submission and humiliation of opposing kings both in § 20 and at the conclusion of the Anitta text (§ 19). "Man of Kuššar" identifies Hattušili's first royal center, and "brother's son of the *tawananna*" explains his blood tie to the preceding royal couple. For the purpose of the annalistic propaganda perhaps the crucial title among these is "Great King", and it is therefore no coincidence that even the shorter titulary in A contains it.

3.10 Only one simile is applied to the king: the lion. This animal is a favorite royal symbol for Hattušili I. He employs it both in his annals (§ 10 = H ii 18f., A obv. 34-35, § 15 = H iii 1, A rev. 2f.) and in his political testament (§ 7 = KUB I 16 ii 37-41; cf. [5.2]). It was also employed in Anitta text § 6 (KBo III 22+obv 26), possibly also as a royal epithet. It is not used by any other Hittite monarch, although it is clearly a part of the Hittite royal ideology, as seen in its employment in the ceremonies for the foundation of a new palace KUB XXIX 1 ii 42-54 (cf. *ANET* 358). The lion also figures prominently in the monumental art of the Hittites. It can be an adjunct to the representation of deities⁵⁵. The famous lion gate of Hattuša could conceivably portray royal attributes.

3.11 In fact, not only is the lion simile peculiar to Hattušili I's annals, but similes of any kind are virtually non-existent in other Hittite royal annals. Only Hattušili III in his Apology makes use of them, and even he employs them of the enemies of the king rather than the king himself⁵⁶. This general failure to employ the simile in the royal annals is particularly striking, when one considers how extremely common simile and metaphor are in other genres of Hittite literature, particularly myth and ritual, and in contrast with Assyrian royal annals where such similes also abound⁵⁷.

3.12 If the lion simile emphasized the savage strength of the king in battle, his pioneering achievements were stressed in the crossing of the Euphrates "on foot" (i.e., over a bridge), an achievement which he boasts (KBo X 2 iii 29-31) only one previous great king was able to perform, Sargon the Great of Akkad. Such boasting of near unique achievements, while common enough in Assyrian annals, is by no means so in Hittite ones. More significant, as noted by Cancik, is the king's attempt to defend his

⁵⁵ K. Bittel and others, *Yazılıkaya* (WVDOG 61 [1941]) 102f., 127f., 152ff. On representations of the lion in ceramics see Fischer, WVDOG 75, 80f.

⁵⁶ Apology of Hattušili, IV 31 (of Urhitešub). Cf. too KBo VII 14 i 5 (Old Hittite).

⁵⁷ A. Schott, *Die Vergleiche in den akkadischen Königsinschriften* (MVAeG 30/2).

claim to priority against a charge of factual inaccuracy⁵⁸. The addition "Sargon indeed crossed it, but I (also) defeated the troops of Hahha" was intended to rescue the king's boast. It shows that even the earliest kings sought to affirm and defend the veracity of their statements in historical texts.

3.13 The Hattušili annals portray the king not only as ferocious and courageous, but also as the saviour of the oppressed. Thus in § 17 the king claims: "I ... took the hands of (the enemy king's) slave girls from the handmills, I took the hands of his slave men from the sickles. I exempted them from taxes and corvée. I unharnessed them. I bestowed them on (the temple of) the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady". Annals of other kings may present them as showing mercy on a foe who submits (Anitta § 2), but no other casts its protagonist in the role of deliverer of oppressed subjects. That Hattušili I considered pity a necessary royal capacity is seen in his Political Testament, §§ 1-2, 16; cf. [5.1].

3.14 The cities of recalcitrant foes could expect only the direst of fates. The city would be burned (§ 19) with the smoke ascending to the storm god, and/or the entire terrain surrounding the city, where crops would normally be cultivated, would be sown with salt and/or cress (Akkad. *sahlû*), cf. § 6. In § 6 no curse is mentioned accompanying the sowing of cress, although such sowing is combined with a curse in Anitta text §§ 11-12 (cf. [2.7]). The wording of the Akkadian version is obscure, but it probably indicates that the land must never again be cultivated. Later kings burned crops, but did not sow the landscape with salt and cress.

3.15 The king as a pious servant of his gods is depicted as dedicating the more impressive items of booty to the temples of the state deities (so in §§ 2-3, 6-7, 12-13, 17-18), who in this text are the sun goddess of Arinna, the storm god of heaven, and the goddess Mezzulla.

3.16 Common in later annals are the deportees (Sum. *NAM.RA*, Hitt. *arnuwalas*), which the Hittite king carries back to Hattuša. They are conspicuously lacking in texts from this early date. Also missing from this text, but found commonly in later ones, is the permanent subjection of foes, the imposition of regular tribute, and troop levies.

3.17 In sum this text, entitled in its colophon "the manly deeds of Hattušili", attempts to glorify the Hittite king by the recitation of his titles, the recounting of his military exploits, and the listing of his many gifts of booty to the temples of the principal state deities. It is very boastful in tone and more preoccupied with rhetoric than the better preserved examples of later annals. Credit is given to the gods for their as-

⁵⁸ H. Cancik, *Mythische und historische Wahrheit* 79-80.

sistance, but in the actual wording of the description of battles much less prominence is given to the gods than, for example, in Muršili II or Hattušili III texts. The king is not quite so helpless a pawn in the hands of the almighty gods; he is robust, active, and ready always to seize the initiative. In Old Hittite ideology the king's possession of moral integrity, wisdom, courage, compassion, and strength are primary. In the Empire period divine election, patronage and assistance assumed much more importance. The difference in outlook is particularly marked between the political apologies of Telepinu and Hattušili III. See [9.0 ff.] and [13.0 ff.]. On the other hand, some of the differences between Hattušili I texts and later ones are more than likely due to the peculiar personality of Hattušili I himself, a man who left a deep impression on both his contemporaries and subsequent generations of his countrymen.

4.0 Another text dating from the reign of Hattušili which stresses vividly the overwhelming superiority of the king to his lieutenants in wisdom, courage and strength, is the account of the Siege of Uršu⁵⁹. This text is classified in [18.1] under II. Preserved only in an Akkadian translation, it is narrated in the third person (cf. 3.12) and has a thoroughly secular outlook. The storm god's name is invoked only in a curse. In no place do the gods influence the course of events.

4.1 In this text too it is the battle scene which serves to convey the remarkable qualities of kingly leadership possessed by Hattušili. But whereas in the Hattušili annals the chronological scheme is very prominent, in the Uršu text time seems to stand stock still. One can almost understand how the first scholars to study this text confused its obverse with its reverse. For in terms of content alone one could almost interchange them at will with no loss in comprehension. The geographical and historical setting is genuine, and the siege itself is not fictitious. The king's lieutenants bear names which are known to us from other historical documents datable to the reign of Hattušili I, so that they *may* be the same individuals⁶⁰. But we cannot know if precisely these incidents and conversations took place during the course of the siege of Uršu. It appears to be a fictitious narrative embellishing a real event, intended to paint a portrait of the wise, courageous, and forceful king, impatient with his incompetent subordinates⁶¹.

4.2 Since this text was composed in the Akkadian language, one cannot compare its phraseology with the language of the Hittite historical

⁵⁹ Edited by H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938) 113ff.

⁶⁰ See H. G. Güterbock, *ibid.*, and A. Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 139.

⁶¹ One thinks of the Königsnovelle genre, to which the Sargonic narrative *CTH* 310 also belongs.

texts. Nevertheless, one can see that despite the different language of composition the Uršu text is a real literary text with a style appropriate to such a text. Here there are no itineraries, listings of booty, or the like. Instead, as in most literary texts, there is a superabundance of dialogue. The language is calculated to express the intense emotions of the speakers. It is very vivid⁶³.

4.3 Attention has been drawn to the motif of "failures" or "mistakes" in this composition, a theme which it shares with other historical texts from this early period⁶³. While it is undeniable that this motif is present, one may properly ask if the focus here is upon the persons guilty of failure or upon the king who detects and punishes the failures. Surely it is the latter (cf. [5.1]). The culprits bear names (and they may be authentic ones), as in the Palace Chronicle, but they serve only as living evidence of the exacting standards of loyalty, honesty, and obedience imposed by the king upon his servants. The same "lesson" is taught in the Political Testament (cf. [5.1]) and the Palace Chronicle (cf. [6.2]) where however a unified historical setting such as the Uršu siege is absent, leaving a loose collection of anecdotes bound together only by the dating of the persons and events to the lifetimes of Hattušili I and Muršili I. So whereas in the Manly Deeds of Hattušili the historical narrative was drawn up with the single purpose of glorifying the king, the Siege of Uršu serves both the glorification of the king and the admonition of his servants. Neither text shows any trace of a disinterested pursuit of knowledge about the past.

5.0 The Political Testament of Hattušili (CTH 6)⁶⁴ employs the technique of recounting events of the past involving the king in order to justify a royal decree, which will effect important changes in the government and the society. As such it is the prototype of the so-called "historical prologues" to the Hittite state treaties of the 14th and 13th centuries. But in fact we have seen (cf. [3.5]) that the Hittites very early had learned to employ not only historical but legendary narrative to introduce and provide a rationale for the main subject matter of the text. This text, however, represents the earliest known example of an edict or decree so introduced. Later the same technique was applied with mo-

⁶³ An example of this vivid style from the Siege of Uršu is when the king angrily questions his officers: "Why have you not launched the attack? Are you standing on chariots of water? Did you also turn into water?... You acted very effeminately ... Last year Tudhaliya acted effeminately, and now you too have acted effeminately!" (KBo I 11 rev! 10ff.).

⁶³ See H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938) 100, 104, 113; A. Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 139.

⁶⁴ Edition by F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I.* (1938), henceforward *HAB*.

difications by Telepinu (cf. [9.2])⁶⁵. This composition could be classified under III in the scheme of [18.1].

5.1 But like the Manly Deeds and the Siege of Uršu it too is inevitably concerned with the royal image. It too is at pains to portray the sovereign as wise, just, and even compassionate. In fact, the royal ideal is as much portrayed in its rejection by the unworthy sons and daughter (§§ 1-6, 12-18) as it is in its exemplification by Hattušili and his commands to Muršili I. The events of the past — the conspiracies and rebellions — are not arranged chronologically. The author is thus unconcerned with reconstructing temporal sequence. Nor does he (as a modern historian might) seek out the causes for these revolts in external factors⁶⁶. The factors and causes are all internal, resident in the character of the individual. The internal character traits of the individual actually resist the attempts to foster right behaviour: "I continued to give him instructions and cared for him continually. But he showed himself a youth not fit to be seen. Tears he did not shed. Mercy he did not show. He was cold; he was heartless. ... This warning of the king he did not take. The advice of his mother — that snake — he continually took" (§§ 1-2 = i/ii 4-10)⁶⁷. In all three cases where persons were led into misconduct by bad advice (the young Labarna in §§ 1-2, Huzzia in §§ 12-13, the un-named daughter in §§ 13-17, even the woman Heštiara in § 23) it was not because better counsel was unavailable. In each case the person chose to ignore the wisdom of the king in favor of the foolish and evil advice of others⁶⁸. It is for this reason that the king stresses to his servants that they raise the young king Muršili in the wisdom of his royal predecessor (§ 10).

5.2 Thus, while it is the good and wise counsel of the old king on which both the young crown prince and the other government officials can grow and develop into successful individuals, there is a certain pre-inclination either to accept or reject the king's word, which shows itself in the use of such terms as "snake" to describe the mother of Labarna (§ 4) and "lion" to describe the young Muršili (§ 7; cf. [3.10]). Hence the future behaviour of Labarna was utterly predictable (§§ 4-5). And Hattušili could say to Muršili: "My son, what is in your heart — always do!" (§ 22).

5.3 The Political Testament of Hattušili also offers an articulate philosophy of history and of state which resembles in all essentials that

⁶⁵ A. Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 141ff.

⁶⁶ It is true that in § 12 the people of the town of Tappaššanda intimidated the young Huzziya and encouraged him to rebel against his father, as it is true that in § 11 the elderly king issues a warning against allowing the town elders of various locales to seek special favors from the young Muršili.

⁶⁷ F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein, *HAB* 2-3.

⁶⁸ Thus are the passages cited in note 66 to be understood.

of the Telepinu Proclamation (cf. [9.0-6]). The conditions for a flourishing and successful Hittite state and monarchy are a thoroughly unified royal family ("let your clan be united like that of a *wetnaš*-animal!" and §§ 8-9 in general compared with Tel. Procl. §§ 1, 5, 8, 29), rejection of individual ambitions contrary to the interests of the royal family as a whole (§§ 11-12), conscientious following of the wise counsel of the king and unswerving obedience to his decrees (§§ 19-21), and prompt punishment through proper legally established instruments (such as the *pankuš*)⁶⁹ of all misdeeds, especially bloodshed in the royal family (§ 22, with which compare Tel. Procl. §§ 30-33).

5.4 Very similar in style and content to the Political Testament is a fragment of another Hattušili I edict (*CTH* 5 = KBo III 27 = BoTU 10β)⁷⁰. Several specific sentences in this fragment echo parts of the Political Testament: (1) the condemnation of the seditious behaviour of the queen (the Tawananna; lines 1'-12', to be compared with Pol. Test. §§ 1-4), (2) the rejection of the former heir apparent, the young Labarna (lines 13'-14', to be compared with Pol. Test. § 3), (3) the proclamation of Muršili as the new heir apparent and crown prince designate (lines 13'-14', compare Pol. Test. § 7), (4) the command to maintain unity in the royal clan (lines 15'-16', compare Pol. Test. § 8, where an animal other than the wolf is employed in the simile), (5) swift punishment of those who do not obey the royal decrees (lines 8'-12', 16'-21', compare Pol. Test. § 22). To be sure, however, there are certain marked differences in phraseology. Both texts show the vivid, bold imagery so characteristic of Hattušili I (cf. [3.24] and [4.2]) — "let them cut his throat and hang him in his gate!" (lines 9'-12'), "let the clan of you, my servants, be one — like that of a wolf!" (lines 15'-16'), "(when) ye violate my word, then in the fireplace ye will not fan the fire, (and) a serpent shall coil itself around the city of Hattuša!" (lines 24'-27'). The same linking of obedience to the king's wise words to the prosperity of the kingdom which one finds in Pol. Test. § 21 is found here (lines 22' ff.). The admonitory examples from history, which in Pol. Test. are largely individual members of the royal family, here include cities as well: Zalpa and Haššu (lines 28'-31'), on which also cf. [2.3].

6.0 At least one exemplar (KUB XXXVI 104 = D) of the so-called "Palace Chronicle" (*CTH* 8) has the old handwriting. The language of

⁶⁹ On the *pankuš* see A. Goetze in G. Walser (editor), *Neuere Hethiterforschung* (1964) 25ff. with citation of earlier literature.

⁷⁰ See H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938) 99; F. Sommer in *HAB* 211ff.; H. G. Güterbock, *Journal of World History* 2 (1954) 384; and M. Vieyra in R. Labat (editor), *Religions du Proche Orient* (1970) 471f.

the composition throughout is Old Hittite, so that a date for the original writing around the end of the 17th century B.C. (using the Middle Chronology adopted for the *Cambridge Ancient History*) cannot be challenged. The find spots of only the more recently excavated tablets are known. All of them come from the dumps of earlier excavations at the House on the Slope (quadrant L/18). Two other pieces, which may belong to this composition (KBo VIII 41 and 42) were found in 1954 on the acropolis. Found in secondary locations, both pieces undoubtedly came originally from Building A.

6.1 The "Palace Chronicle"⁷¹ is really not a chronicle, since it does not seek to arrange all events related therein strictly chronologically. It is a loosely organized collection of anecdotes concerning officials of the Hittite king (see [18.1], III). Most of the stories take place in the reign of the "father of the king", probably Hattušili I (cf. [2.5]), which fixes the time of composition in the reign of Muršili I. The dating is determined by the occurrence in the text of names of officials known from other documents relating to the reigns of Hattušili I and Muršili II: Šanda, Nunnu, Kuliait/Kulet, Zidi, and Hištaiar(a).

6.2 Some of the anecdotes (grouped together toward the end of the composition) are quite uncomplimentary to the officials involved and show how the king punished dishonesty and incompetence among his underlings. This is, of course, the same manner of portraying the royal person which we saw in the narrative of the Siege of Uršu (cf. [4.3]) and less pronounced in the Political Testament of Hattušili (cf. [5.1] and [5.2]). The same kind of anecdote is employed in the New Kingdom occasionally in vassal treaties. Preserving the feature of the royal fury seen so clearly in the Siege of Uršu is a story found in an instructions text about a water-carrier whose negligence resulted in a hair getting into the royal drinking water⁷². There is a certain grim humor in the coincidence that the culprit, proven guilty by a river ordeal, bears the name of a well known Hittite river and its god — Zuliya!

6.3 Like the Siege of Uršu the Palace Chronicle is a purely secular document, which not once betrays a genuine religiosity or any hint that the gods might operate as forces behind events (cf. [4.0]). The narrative is couched in a detached language with the narrator in no way involved (third person narrative throughout).

7.0 Certain fragments relative to Muršili's expedition against Babylon (CTH 10), which Kammenhuber classes as "Old Hittite chronicle

⁷¹ H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938) 100ff.; A. Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 139.

⁷² KUB XIII 3 iii 21ff., translated by J. Friedrich, *MAOG* 4 (1928) 46ff., and A. Goetze, *ANET* 207.

literature", have been known for quite a while. In 1969 a duplicate to one of these pieces (*CTH* 10.2) was recovered from the dumps of earlier excavations in the Big Temple (quadrant K/19 of the Lower City)⁷³. None of the fragments which comprise this composition is in the old writing; each gives every indication of being a late copy.

7.1 *CTH* 10.1 and *CTH* 11 are quite similar in content. They relate in the third person the more important military exploits of Muršili and then proceed to tell of his assassination. They praise Muršili and consider him the equal of his illustrious predecessor: "He too was a first-rank [king]"⁷⁴. *CTH* 11.A (KBo III 57) may have been a *Sammeltafel*, containing in col. III a first person narrative of the reign of Hantili, and in the first two columns, accounts of the reigns of his predecessors⁷⁵. Not to be excluded, however, is the possibility that it was one continuous new composition which, like the Tel. Procl., used older sources. In the latter case, the outlook throughout would have to have been uniform, a single, coherent view of events over several kings' reigns.

7.2 But *CTH* 10.2 differs from *CTH* 10.1 and *CTH* 11, in that it makes extensive use of first person plural verb forms. One is reminded of *CTH* 17.1 (KBo III 60), col. III, where the narrative also unfolds in first person plural verbs. It too deals with campaigns of Muršili I in Syria. Also in first person plural narrative, but not dealing with military matters, is the merchants' tale *ABoT* 49+2007/u+1160/c from acropolis Building A (with duplicate KBo XII 42 from the House on the Slope)⁷⁶. Many details of the interpretation of *CTH* 17.1 remain obscure. But its pertinence to *CTH* 10.2 should be carefully weighed, and that of *CTH* 10.1 to *CTH* 10.2 questioned.

7.3 A join piece to exemplar B of *CTH* 13, which deals with Muršili's wars against the Hurrians, was recovered in 1963 from the dumps of the earlier excavation in the area of the Big Temple in the Lower City⁷⁷. This means that at least one copy of this composition was kept in the same tablet collection as the Zalpa Story (*CTH* 3.1 and 3.4), the narrative of Muršili's wars against Babylon (*CTH* 10.2), the narratives about Yarimlim,

⁷³ KBo XXII 7 was found in the "Grabungsschutt". H. A. Hoffner attempted to interpret this piece and the older duplicate in H. Goedicke and J. Roberts (editors), *Unity and Diversity* (Baltimore-London 1975) 56ff.

⁷⁴ KUB XXVI 74 i 7-8; KBo III 57 ii 5. This phrase and the general style of *CTH* 10 were consciously imitated many centuries later by Hattušili III in his historical review, a fragment of which is preserved in KUB XXI 24 and KBo XXII 11 (cf. *CTH* 84).

⁷⁵ So claimed by A. Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 143 note 37, second paragraph.

⁷⁶ See edition of two published pieces by H. Hoffner in *JCS* 22 (1968) pp. 34ff.

⁷⁷ KBo XIX 90 (inventory number 662/v).

Atradu and Hammurapi (*CTH* 14.1, 14.2, 14.4A), and copies B and F of the Telepinu Proclamation (*CTH* 19), all of which are historical texts from originals in the Old Hittite period. Cf. [1.10-11]. None of the copies of *CTH* 13 shows the Old Hittite writing, although the language is Old Hittite.

7.4 *CTH* 13 unlike *CTH* 10 and 11 is narrated by Muršili himself in the first person singular, which suggests that the text may be annals (cf. above in [3.5] and below in [8.0]). At least the narration is put into the mouth of the king himself. It is therefore an unlikely candidate for Kammenhuber's chronicle literature⁷⁸.

7.5 The passage of time is indicated at several points by the notation that someone (always third person, therefore not Muršili⁷⁹) "passed the winter" (obv. 36, rev. 26) in a certain area. There are no formulas such as "in the next year", which sometimes marks the annalistic style.

7.6 Once in a broken passage (rev. 2') the "father of the king" is mentioned. This may have been Forrer's reason for considering that side of the tablet the obverse⁸⁰. For if the composition attempts a vaguely chronological scheme, the activities of Hattušili I (or narrative which involves him) should be found near the beginning.

8.0 The "Ammuna Chronicle" (*CTH* 18)⁸¹ is preserved in three copies, none of which shows the old handwriting. Find spots are not known for any of the pieces. The narrative is introduced by the phrase "thus (says) Ammuna, the Great King", and what follows in col. I of copy A is narrated in the first person (cf. [3.5], [7.4]). Columns II and III of A are broken away. Column IV has one clear example of the king's activity narrated in the third person (iv 14). Because of the loss of the intervening two columns, one cannot be sure the material in col. IV is part of the same Ammuna text which began in col. I.

8.1 The text is important for the reconstruction of Hittite history, because it presents quite a different picture of Ammuna, whom the Te-

⁷⁸ So attributed by her (*Saeculum* 9 [1958] 143) as "die vermutlich alle zur Chronikliteratur gehörigen Fragmente, die Laroche in: *RHA* 58, S. 35 (ff.) unter Nr. 10-14 anführt". *CTH* 13 = *Cat.* 12 and therefore is included in "Nr. 10-14".

⁷⁹ Unless, of course, we have here evidence for a conflation of sources. In composing the annals in the first person, older itineraries drawn up in the third person could have been used. One would need the full context in order to be sure that the king himself was the subject of these third person verb forms.

⁸⁰ BoTU, p. 30.

⁸¹ See Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 143, end of note 37; edition of the rev., col. iv, by von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer* (1965) 185ff. Kammenhuber avoids classifying it as a chronicle, preferring "Selbstbericht dieses Königs". She also doubts that it can be considered a predecessor of the annals texts of the Empire Period.

lepinu Proclamation portrays as the "bad luck king" (cf. [9.5]). Nothing in the Ammuna Chronicle suggests any lack of piety on the king's part; nothing suggests that his reign was marked by failures. And if col. IV of KUB XXVI 71 belongs to the same composition as col. I, the narrative there even suggests that Ammuna's lieutenants exercised control over areas to the north and north-east of the capital which lay in the heart of areas (such as Tibiya) which were later controlled by the troublesome Kaška tribes. In fact the narrator in col. IV claims that "the king made the sea (his) border" ⁸², an expression quite similar to one used in the Telepinu Proclamation to describe the highly successful reigns of Labarna and Hattušili I ⁸³.

8.2 The style of this text, which is quite similar to annals, is marked not only by first person narration, but also by indication of time sequence by "in that very same year" (i 22'), "in the second year" (iv 10'), and "[in the thir]d [year]" (iv 14'). In the preserved parts of the text there seem to be no stereotyped phrases to describe the divine assistance or indications of bringing booty back home to the temples in Hattuša (cf. [3.7]). The element of bravado is definitely missing (contrast [3.12-17]). The sense of temporal sequence, the full data on geographical points in the king's and his officials' itineraries, the inclusion of personal names and pertinent details about the activities of the king's lieutenants combine to give the impression of a highly competent historiographic technique. In fact the inclusion (in column IV) of rather full descriptions of the missions of the subordinates (not the anecdotal accounts of failures or successes with admonitory overtones) indicates that Old Hittite texts such as this one long anticipated much of the best in the annals style of Muršili II. What seems not to appear until Muršili is Cancik's "Metaschicht" ⁸⁴.

9.0 The Telepinu Proclamation (CTH 19) ⁸⁵, a literary product of the late Old Kingdom (c. 1500), has been preserved in an Akkadian version and nine exemplars of the Hittite version, of which two (B and F) were found in the area of the Great Temple in the Lower City, and three (A, G, H) in the area of the House on the Slope. The account of Telepinu's campaign against the land of Lahha (CTH 20), which is composed in the first person, was also recovered in the area of the House on the Slope, while

⁸² LUGAL-uš a-ru-na-an ar-ha-an IŠ-BAT (2BoTU 30 rev iv 14');

⁸³ nu-uš a-ru-na-aš ir-hu-uš i-e-et (2BoTU 23A i 8, etc.).

⁸⁴ H. Cancik, *Grundzüge* 35ff.

⁸⁵ Old edition of Sturtevant & Bechtel, *Hittite Chrestomathy* (1935) 175ff. based upon texts assembled by Forrer in BoTU 23. An unpublished Munich dissertation by Eiserle, which attempts a new edition, was not available to me here in Chicago. Cf. Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) pp. 142 and 144, O. R. Gurney in *CAH*², fasc. 44, pp. 3-10.

one copy of that king's treaty with Išputahšu of Kizzuwatna was recovered in the area of the Great Temple. No records pertaining to this king's reign therefore have yet been determined to come from the acropolis archives.

9.1 The language of the Telepinu Proclamation is not so archaic as that of compositions from the reigns of Hattušili I and Muršili I. Of the various exemplars, B seems to show a more archaic language. This copy ⁸⁶, which was found in the Great Temple area, is not, however, in the old handwriting.

9.2 The form of the document is that of a decree or edict. The introductory formula "thus (says) the Tabarna, Telepinu, the Great King" is not in itself evidence for the decree form. The "Ammuna Chronicle" (cf. 8.0) began "thus (says) Ammuna, the Great King". What clearly marks it as a decree is its final sections (§§ 27-50), which reveal that the first 26 sections constitute in fact an unusually long historical prologue to the decree proper. From the documents of the earlier Old Kingdom we have seen that legendary traditions could serve as an explanatory prologue to historical narrative (cf. [3.5]). We have seen that the first attempt to use a rehearsal of previous events to provide a background for a decree was in the Political Testament of Hattušili (cf. [5.0]). But the organization of that text is such that the historical reminiscences (which have the anecdotal flavor) are intermingled with the king's commands and admonitions to his subjects, thus failing to show the neat sequence of historical prologue followed by decree which is found for the first time in Telepinu and then becomes a regular feature of the state treaties during the reigns of Šuppiluliuma I and his successors.

9.3 I have attempted elsewhere to show that the Telepinu Proclamation exhibits the same broad outline in its historical section as the Apology of Hattušili III ⁸⁷. Both texts were authored by usurpers concerned with justifying their accessions. Both chose to do so through a rehearsal of events which stretch back far beyond the reign of the king whom each overthrew. Each seeks to show that he belongs to a line of legitimate and successful remote predecessors, whose principles were betrayed by the king whom the usurper-author removed. Both texts conclude with decrees. To be sure there are differences between the two compositions. Hattušili III rests his defense not only on the unworthiness of his predecessor (the horizontal plane) and the dangers which this unworthiness posed for the kingdom, but also on his election from childhood

⁸⁶ KBo XIX 96+KUB XI 1.

⁸⁷ In Goedicke & Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity* 51ff.

by Ishtar of Šamuha, who by her divine power (the key term: *para han-dandatar*) and control over the events of history brings about the downfall of Urhitešub and the passage of power to Hattušili (the vertical plane). Telepinu, on the contrary, attributes his rise to power to no patron deity. At best he sees divine disapproval⁸⁸ of the widespread bloodshed in the royal family attending the reigns of his immediate predecessors, a factor in their ineffectiveness and the disasters which attended their period of rule (§§ 12-22, 27). One could say that the Telepinu Proclamation shares with most Old Hittite historical texts a more secular outlook than most of the analogous New Kingdom texts.

9.4 The Telepinu Proclamation represents the clearest example from the Old Kingdom of an attempt to show a pattern in a somewhat lengthy period of past events. The temporal sequence is evident in the succession of reigns from Labarna through Huzziya. But as a rule only general statements are made about successes and failures. When occasionally a particular datable historical event (such as Muršili's expeditions against Aleppo, Babylon, and the Hurrians) is included, it is thought that the author has drawn upon a written source such as *CTH* 10 and 11 (cf. above in [7.0]-[7.2]). His debt to earlier written sources is evident at many points in phrases which he has lifted almost verbatim from earlier historical documents. In BoTU 30, Col. IV (*CTH* 18; cf. [8.0]-[8.2]) he found the phrase "he held the sea(-coast) as (his) border".

9.5 The Telepinu Proclamation is the only example known from Hittite historical literature of a text which establishes one or two criteria for measuring the success of kings and then relates a long series of reigns to illustrate the point. Such a text from Mesopotamia is the Weidner Chronicle. From ancient Israel we know of the work of the so-called "Deuteronomic history". It is often the case in such works that evidence is distorted or even invented in order to save the theory. For this reason Hittitologists have long distrusted the historical sections of the Telepinu Proclamation. For some periods of Old Kingdom history it is our only source of information. Then we have no alternative but to use it. But when there are other historical sources, one avoids drawing conclusions based exclusively on information from this text.

10.0 For the reigns of Telepinu's immediate successors, Alluwamna, Hantili II, Zidanza II and Huzziya II there is very little historical documentation. Under *CTH* 23 Laroche groups three fragments which men-

⁸⁸ "Then the gods avenged the blood of . . ." (§ 19, i 66ff.; § 20, i 69ff.); "even the men of the gods (*šuman antuḫšišša*) are saying: Behold in Hattuša bloodshed has become widespread!" (§ 27, ii 32ff.). Cf. H. A. Hoffner in Goedicke & Roberts, *Unity* 53f.

tion an Alluwamna. *CTH* 25 is a treaty of a Hittite king named Zidanza with Pilliya, king of Kizzuwatna. Adherents to the short chronologies of Hittite history assign this treaty to Zidanza I, the father of Ammuna, who killed Pišeni, Hanteli's son and heir, and became king after Hanteli I. (c. 1565-1555) ⁸⁹. Adherents to the longer chronology, who tend to give more credence to the native historical tradition of kings between Telepinu and Šuppiluliuma I, consider the chronological sequence of Kizzuwatna treaties (and thus the sequence of Kizzuwatna rulers) to be Išputahšu, Pilliya, Paddatiššu, Šunaššura, thus assigning the Pilliya treaty to a second Zidanza (c. 1480-1470) ⁹⁰. Since none of these early Kizzuwatna treaties contain historical prologues, there exists no historiography for the kings between Telepinu and Tudhaliya II (c. 1460-1440).

10.1 The attribution of historical texts to the period between Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma I is subject to the controversy which presently exists over the use of certain linguistic and to a lesser extent paleographic criteria to date texts to the 15th century. Otten, Güterbock, Carruba, Houwink ten Cate and others have sought to establish the linguistic characteristics of this stage in the developing Hittite language, which they call "Middle Hittite" ⁹¹. Their most vocal opponent is Kammenhuber, who views the mixture of older forms with younger in such texts as signs of conscious archaizing which took place at the very end of the New Kingdom (last decades of the 12th century) ⁹². Laroche has adopted a mediating position in *CTH*, grouping the historical texts written in this language together under the heading "texts of uncertain date" (*CTH* 131-147). These texts include *inter alia* annals of a king Tudhaliya (*CTH* 142) and of a king Arnuwanda (*CTH* 143), which may pertain to Tudhaliya II and Arnuwanda I.

Since compositions in what we may surely call an annalistic style were made during the Old Kingdom itself by Hattušili I there is only the linguistic controversy to hinder the full acceptance of these annals as belonging to Tudhaliya II and Arnuwanda I. Houwink ten Cate and Gurney have tried to show that the historical data contained in these annals and in the Madduwatta and Mita texts fit well into the larger historical picture

⁸⁹ H. Otten, *JCS* 5 (1951) 129ff.

⁹⁰ H. G. Güterbock, *CHM* 2 (1954) 385, n. 17; B. Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954) 19, n. 49; A. Goetze, *JCS* 11 (1957) 72ff.; O. R. Gurney in *CAH*², fasc. 44 (1966) 5, 14-15.

⁹¹ O. Carruba, *Die Sprache* 12 (1966) 79f.; H. Otten, *StBoT* 11 (1969); Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *Records of the Early Hittite Empire* (1962). My position is outlined in *JNES* 31 (1972) 29-35.

⁹² *KZ* 83 (1969) 256ff.; *Or* 38 (1969) 548ff.; *MSS* 28 (1970) 51ff.; 29 (1971) 75ff. And cf. now THeth 9.

in both Anatolia and Syria of the 15th century ⁹³. Too little of these compositions is preserved to allow the kind of detailed stylistic analysis that is possible for the Annals of Hattušili I or the two annalistic works of Muršili II (cf. below in [12.1] and following). But it can be said that the style is more similar to the later Muršili annals than to the earlier Hattušili I ones.

10.2 In form the Madduwatta text ⁹⁴ resembles a very long treaty prologue without the body of stipulations which follow. It differs from the treaty prologues in the absence of the introductory formula and titular: "Thus (says) My Sun, (royal name), Great King, King of Hatti, beloved of the Storm God, son of (royal name and titles)".

10.3 Temporal sequence is observed but not assigned to individual years. Since the addressee, Madduwatta, who is also the principal subject of the narrative, is an older contemporary, the present Hittite king first narrates Madduwatta's dealings with the previous Hittite king (§§ 1-5, 8-15), and summarizes the treaty obligations imposed upon Madduwatta at that time (§§ 6-7). These obligations he accuses Madduwatta of breaking. In 1958 Kammenhuber wrote of the Madduwatta text: "Die eigenartige Anklageschrift gegen Madduwatta ... gehört hingegen nicht zur Geschichtsschreibung, sondern kann eher als Ersatz für einen dank der damaligen Schwäche des Hethiterkönigs nicht mehr möglichen Staatsvertrag angesehen werden" ⁹⁵. Such a statement rests upon chronological and historical premises which are no longer accepted by most Hittitologists. Excluding the question of the date of the composition, one must still ask if the rehearsal of events in argumentation, whether they be found in annals, treaty prologues, letters, or elsewhere, is not entitled to the designation *Geschichtsschreibung*. One may deem such a narrative tendentious, propagandistic or limited in scope, all of which the Madduwatta text undeniably is. But it is also history-writing of a very utilitarian sort such as was practised by the Hittites from the very beginnings to the end of their kingdom.

10.4 Such historical prologues, whether they introduced decrees or treaties, tended to employ first and second person verb forms and pronouns to a much greater degree than other forms of historiographic literature. In the case of the annals and chronicle literature, on the contrary, there were no addressees, therefore no second person forms.

⁹³ Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *Records* 57ff.; O. R. Gurney in *CAH*³, vol. II, chap. xv (fasc. 44).

⁹⁴ KUB XIV 1 + KBo XIX 38; older edition: A. Götze, *MVAeG* 32 (1928); newer study by H. Otten, *StBoT* 11 (1969).

⁹⁵ *Saeculum* 9, 144.

11.0 Historical prologues to proper state treaties exist for the reigns of Šuppiluliuma I, Muršili II, Muwatalli, Hattušili III, Tudhaliya IV, and Šuppiluliuma II. In addition decrees (or edicts) from the reign of Hattušili III occasionally have historical prologues⁹⁶, as do some of the royal prayers from this period⁹⁷. As noted above, these rehearsals of events are extremely tendentious. The treaty prologues are at pains to portray the beneficence and wisdom of Hittite imperial foreign policy. One must read between the lines and penetrate behind the façade in order to determine what may actually have happened. But our concern is not primarily with these sources as evidence for real happenings but rather as objects of study in their own right, as evidence for the way their authors saw (or would like us to see) the events described. We are concerned with what they are trying to do and how they go about doing it, regardless of whether or not we approve.

11.1 The treaty prologues present the events of history as justifying Hittite imperial foreign policy at every turn and condemning all parties who seek to thwart that policy. The prologues to the decrees explain in historical terms the need for the decree and show it to be a proper and wise response to the situation. The prologues to the prayers maintain the complete integrity and piety of the worshiper or his/her spouse and the need for divine action to heal him or lengthen his life.

12.0 The reign of Muršili II witnessed the production of a large number of historical texts. Of greatest interest among these are three annalistic compositions: a Ten-Year Annals of Muršili (*CTH* 61.I), a Detailed Annals (*CTH* 61.II) which related events at least through the 21st year of the king's reign, and the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (*CTH* 40) composed by Muršili⁹⁸.

12.1 In his two important studies of Hittite historiography⁹⁹ Hubert Cancik has made us aware of the unsuspected sophistication of literary technique employed by Hittite author-compilers of historical texts. And although Cancik's insights into the older compositions are also often helpful, his most notable contribution consists of his close examination of the Muršili annals, the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, and the Hattušili III texts.

12.2 Although all Hittite historical texts exhibit to some degree the ability to organize the raw chronological, geographical and statistical data, and to present it in such a way as to reveal the motivations of the prin-

⁹⁶ E.g., KBo IV 12 (*CTH* 87), the decree in favor of Mittannamuwa.

⁹⁷ *CTH* 383 and 384, prayers of Hattušili and Puduhepa, to be edited by Ms. Judith O'Rear Barissas in her Yale dissertation.

⁹⁸ A. Götze, *AM* (MVAeG 38, 1933), and H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956) 41-68, 75-130.

⁹⁹ See below in [16.0] and notes 133 and 134.

cial actors, the causes or at least occasions of armed conflict, the political wisdom, military skill, justice, mercy, and cultic piety of the Hittite king, Cancik has demonstrated by his close analysis of the historical compositions of Muršili II and Hattušili III that the historiographic literary technique reached its acme during the late 14th and 13th centuries. It is impossible to prove anything conclusive about the organization of either the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma or Muršili's Detailed Annals, since both of these compositions contain large gaps, and in the former case it is not certain how one should order the fragments. Without a complete connected text, and especially without a preserved beginning and end, one cannot properly analyze a literary composition as to its structure. Realizing this, Cancik has used the Ten-Year Annals of Muršili, which is almost completely preserved, as his starting point. Reaching certain preliminary conclusions about the Ten-Year Annals, he then seeks to render plausible the same structure and technique for the others. Fundamental to the organization of the Ten-Year Annals, according to Cancik is a prologue, an epilogue which consciously resumes the prologue, and a symmetrical central section bisected by a "Binnenschluss" (internal conclusion). Within the central section episodes of two types alternate: (1) terse, report-like narratives ("Berichte") of Kaška campaigns, and (2) more literary descriptions ("Geschichten") of the protracted Arzawa war and other matters. In the latter one finds extensive use of speeches, letters, speculations about hypothetical courses of action either by the king or his opponent, portrayal of simultaneous happenings in different locations; in the former only stereotyped formulas. Cancik thinks that this alternation is a conscious literary technique, which proves that Muršili's Ten Year Annals were the end-product of an editorial process of selection and arrangement of narrative material from a larger corpus of written records.

12.3 The Ten-Year Annals certainly represents a unified composition. The epilogue was clearly already in view, as the prologue was being written. Each presupposes the other. One cannot avoid the conclusion that the author has been selective, for he informs his audience in the epilogue: "The enemy lands which the king's sons and the lords conquered are not included (here)" (§ 42). Furthermore, it is obvious that the corpus of written records of Muršili's campaigns included at least that extra material which appears in the Detailed Annals. It does not seem to me that there was an internal conclusion ("Binnenschluss") at the end of year four (§ 27). The end of year four is not described differently from the ends of other years, nor does year five (§ 28) begin remarkably differently. So far as I can see, the central section is a seamless whole. What differences in style exist between the alternating sections are minimal and could be outgrowths of the content. A question should be raised: What are the

boundaries of the alternating units? Cancik's first stereotyped section comprises two regnal years (§§ 7-11). When only two types of narrative are distinguished, it is a simple matter to argue that they "alternate", even if the types of paragraphs are represented schematically as AABA BBAAAABAA.

12.4 As in the Old Kingdom annals of Hattušili [3.8f.], the portrayal of the royal person is of paramount importance. If there is any remarkable difference between the Muršili II annals and the predecessors in this regard, it is probably an increased tendency on the part of the royal author to vindicate himself. Muršili seems always to be defending himself against real or imagined accusations. At the outset of both the Ten-Year and the Detailed Annals he seeks to counter the charge of the enemy lands that he is too young and too weak to fill his father's shoes. Again in year three Muršili takes cognizance of insults aimed at himself by Uhhaziti of Arzawa: "You have continually called me a child and have continually belittled me" ¹⁰⁰. Other texts from the reign of Muršili II show how his ego at times was greatly threatened (Muršili's Speech Loss) ¹⁰¹. They also show how he sought in the sins of his father the causes for the plague which ravaged his kingdom (Plague Prayers), thus seeking to show that the plague did not come through any sin of his own. One should therefore expect from such a king annals which vigorously seek to prove his manliness and piety.

12.5 The king's manliness is to be proven by the accounts of his military successes. His piety can be proven in several ways. Although Hittite annals are primarily limited in their subject-matter to the king's military activities, Muršili's include occasional allusions to the king's celebration of festivals ¹⁰² and his pious observance of the prescribed funeral rites for his brother Šarrikušuh/Piyaššili ¹⁰³. The measure of his standing before the gods could also be measured by the appeal to make a given battle show by its outcome the judgment of the deity (i.e., a kind of ordeal by battle) ¹⁰⁴. Later, Hattušili III was to appeal likewise to the gods' granting of victory over his opponents as a sign of the essential justness of his cause (cf. [13.0]) ¹⁰⁵. There is, however, no evidence for the em-

¹⁰⁰ KBo III 4 obv ii 12f. (= AM 46-47).

¹⁰¹ See the psychological insights in the discussion of A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Philadelphia 1956), 230ff. See Laroche, *CTH* 486.

¹⁰² KBo III 4 i 21 (= AM 20), ii 48 (= AM 58-60), KUB XIX 30 iv 12-13 (= AM 104-5), etc.

¹⁰³ KBo IV 4 i 6ff. (= AM 108ff.).

¹⁰⁴ KBo III 4 ii 13-14 (= AM 45-6), KUB XIV 17 iii 18-19 (= AM 97-99).

¹⁰⁵ *Hatt.* III 71-73.

ployment of this technique prior to Muršili¹⁰⁶. No earlier annals contain descriptions of this. In the description of Year Seven in the Detailed Annals the king writes: "Let the gods stand on my side and decide [the issue] in [my] favor!"¹⁰⁷

12.6 In contrast to the annals of Hattušili I and other preserved examples of earlier annals the Muršili II annals also develop a stereotyped phraseology for the divine aid rendered in the battlefield. Elements of this phraseology existed before, but the full and fixed form, which occurs quite frequently, appears first in texts from Muršili's reign. The formula in the Ten Year Annals reads as follows: "The sun goddess of Arinna, my lady, the mighty storm god, my lord, Mēzzulla, and all the gods ran before me, so that I defeated ..." ¹⁰⁸. In the Detailed Annals the formula was somewhat different: "The mighty storm god, my lord, the sun goddess of Arinna, my lady, the storm god of Hatti, the tutelary god of Hatti, the storm god of the army, Ishtar of the (battle-)field, and all the gods ran before me, so that ..." ¹⁰⁹.

12.7 The central term "(the gods) ran before (me)" is by no means first employed in military descriptions by Muršili II. It appears once in the annals of Hattušili I ("the sun goddess of Arinna ... took me by the hand and ran before me in battle") ¹¹⁰, and at least twice in the Middle Hittite annals of Tudhaliya ("the gods ran before") ¹¹¹. It is rather the full formula which is new in Muršili.

12.8 Muršili's annals credit the gods with the king's victories in more ways than through the use of these formulae. At times the king describes startling direct divine intervention in the course of the battles. During his campaign of year nine against the lands of Yahrešša and Piggainarešša an episode occurred which indicated the most specific form of divine assistance: "the mighty storm god, my lord, had summoned for me (the god) Hašammili, my lord, and he kept me hidden (= made me invisible?), so that no one saw me. And I went and attacked the land Piggainarešša as it slept" ¹¹². On another occasion the storm god hurled a lightning bolt against the enemy ¹¹³. On this latter occasion, the king employs to describe the god's open display of power on his behalf a special term which

¹⁰⁶ Unless it is in the broken passage from a text dealing with Muršili I: [...] *-it ha-an-na-r[u? ...]* (KBo III 46 obv 3).

¹⁰⁷ KUB XIV 17 iii 18-19 (*AM* 98f.).

¹⁰⁸ KBo III 4 i 38ff. (= *AM* 22ff.), etc.

¹⁰⁹ KBo IV 4 iv 9ff. (= *AM* 134 ff.), etc.

¹¹⁰ KBo X 2 obv i 29-30.

¹¹¹ KUB XXIII 11 obv ii 29, rev iii 24 (*CTH* 142).

¹¹² KBo IV 4 rev iii 33ff. (= *AM* 126ff.); also *JNES* 25 (1966) 172, lines 4ff.

¹¹³ KBo III 4 ii 16ff. (= *AM* 46ff.).

first appears in the historical literature at this time, the term *para han-dandatar*. This term is variously translated "göttliche Macht", "göttliche Gerechtigkeit, göttliche Rechtsordnung"¹¹⁴. The translation "divine justice" is suggested by a textual variant *niG.SI.SÁ-tar*¹¹⁵, which shows that Hittite scribes could write this word with the Sumerogram which means "justice". The usage of the term suggests that it is the display of a god's overwhelming power in order to bring about a just resolution of a conflict. It is in this sense that the term is used first by Muršili II and later by Hattušili III in his political propaganda.

12.9 New with Muršili II is the concern to describe the terrain of some of the battle sites. In at least one instance the author even assumes that his statements about the terrain can be checked by the reader. "Now the city of Ura, which was the first border fortress [of the land of] Azzi, was situated in a very inaccessible place. Let whoever hears these tablets (read aloud) send and [look at] that city of Ura [how] it was [f]ortified!"¹¹⁶

13.0 One of the best-known Hittite texts of a historical nature is the so-called "autobiography" or "apology" of Hattušili III¹¹⁷. Scholars have not been able to agree completely on the designation of this text¹¹⁸. Like the Telepinu Proclamation it shares the formal features of an edict/decreed, but it is clear that this is only superficial. The historical introduction to the decree is very long, constituting all but the last two paragraphs of the text. Furthermore, it is also obvious that the composition is a piece of political propaganda designed to defame the dethroned king and his partisans and to give legitimacy to the new king. So argumentative is the tone, in fact, that at points the reader-hearer's objections are actually anticipated and answered! (cf. [3.12] and fn. 46b). "If someone should say: Why did you formerly establish him in kingship? And why now are you declaring war upon him? (I answer:) If he had not started the hostilities with me, would (the gods) truly have subjected a 'Great King' to a petty king?" (Hatt. III 74ff.).

13.1 In this text one finds the opposite of that view of history and

¹¹⁴ A. Götze, *Hatt.* 60; J. Friedrich, *HWb* 52 s.v.

¹¹⁵ ABoT 62 38; cf. H. G. Güterbock's note on p. x of ABoT Inhaltsübersicht.

¹¹⁶ KUB XIV 17 iii 21-24 (= *AM* 98).

¹¹⁷ Old edition by A. Götze in *MVAeG* 29 (1924) with supplements and corrections in *MVAeG* 34 (1930); new edition expected by H. Otten in *StBoT* series.

¹¹⁸ Detailed survey by Herbert M. Wolf in his Brandeis University dissertation: *The Apology of Hattušiliš Compared with other Political Self-justifications of the Ancient Near East* (Ann Arbor 1967). Cf. also H. A. Hoffner in Goedicke & Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity* 51ff.

history-writing which sees events linked in a horizontal level by the principles of cause and effect; cf. [17.14]. It is true that no Hittite historical text ever approached this latter conception of history in its pure form. But in most texts there is at least a mixture of horizontal level causality and vertical (i.e., direct divine intervention). In this text every important event is caused by the goddess "Ishtar of Šamuha", who is Hattušili's patron deity. She brings all things about by that power known to the Hittites as *para handandatar* (cf. above in [12.8]). If there is any causality on the human level, it consists merely of one or more persons incurring the divine favor or disfavor and thus influencing the use of the goddess' *para handandatar*. "Because I was indued with (the goddess's) *para handandatar*, and because I walked before the gods in *para handandatar*". wrote Hattušili, "I never committed the evil deed(s) of mankind"¹¹⁹. It is probably too much to assume that all kings (even of the New Kingdom) were privileged to enjoy this endowment of divine power. For only Hattušili makes such claims. Muršili II saw this power unleashed on his behalf only rarely on the battle-field. We have no inkling as to how a human being (or even a king) came to secure the power from the deity. Even of himself Hattušili makes no statement that he earned this power. No special obedience or cultic observances secured it for him. It was strictly of the divine initiative and grace. Ishtar chose him as a child and vouchsafed to him her protection and constant solicitude.

13.2 Although such a view of history is the very antithesis of the conceptions held by modern western historians, the origins of which views are usually traced back to the Greeks, we must in all fairness admit that it is "a view" of history, and that it seems to have been entertained — at least in varying degrees — by many Hittite authors of historiographic documents. Perhaps the Hattušili III apology is the most extreme case of this outlook, but it is by no means the only composition influenced by this view.

13.3 Although the Apology is the most celebrated historical document from the reign of Hattušili III, it is by no means the only such attempted by this king. Under CTH 82 Laroche groups two large fragments, which he thinks are a part of this king's annals. But of much greater significance are the large fragments which remain of a quite lengthy historical review of the reigns of Šuppiliuma I, Arnuwanda, Muršili II, Muwatalli, Urhitešub and Hattušili III (CTH 83). To this composition may also belong the additional fragments KBo XXII 10, 11 and 36. Significant portions of this composition were first pieced together by K. Riemschneider in JCS

¹¹⁹ Hatt. I 46ff.

16 (1962) 110ff. Most of the subsequent joins and discoveries of duplicates have been duly noted in *CTH* 83. It only remains to indicate that KBo XII 44 seems to supply the lefthand side of column IV of KUB XIX 8. Various factors militate against an indirect join of the two pieces, but they are almost certainly duplicates and with a very similar disposition of the words on the tablet lines. I was also privileged to discover among Prof. Otten's dictionary cards of unpublished fragments in 1972 a small fragment of a duplicate of KUB XIX 9, which carries the number 751/v.

13.4 Because of the as yet incomplete reconstruction of this composition it is perhaps premature to attempt any detailed analysis. But a few remarks are nevertheless appropriate. Since the account stretches back over the reigns of five predecessors, it represents the most ambitious attempt at extended historical review since the Telepinu Proclamation. Hattušili, ignoring the real patron deities of his royal predecessors, attributes their military successes in every case to his own patron goddess, the "Ishtar" of the city of Šamuha. Although the technical term *para handandatar* (on which cf. above in [12.8] and [13.1]) has not yet been identified in the fragments of this composition, the idea is definitely present, and the deity who performs spectacular miracles in the field of battle is Hattušili's goddess, "Ishtar" of Šamuha (cf. KUB XXXI 20+KBo XVI 36+Bo 5768, col. III; *JCS* 16, 110f.). Without the all-important beginning and end of this composition we cannot say to what extent the entire review was motivated by a desire to attribute to Hattušili's patron deity the entire success of the Hittite empire. But it is altogether likely.

13.5 To the reign of the last known Hittite king, Šuppiluliyama (Šuppiluliuma II) belongs that remarkable text discussed above in [1.9]. It is apparently a Hittite translation on a clay tablet of two hieroglyphic inscriptions, which describe the military exploits of the last two Hittite kings, Tudhaliya IV and Šuppiluliyama. Although the narrative material in col. I pertains to Tudhaliya IV and that in col. III to Šuppiluliyama, we are told explicitly that both accounts were drawn up by the latter (ii 11-16), so the style is the same. They are both accounts of campaigns against Cyprus. Whether or not the Tudhaliya statue inscription originally contained "manly deeds" additional to the Alašiya campaign, all that is preserved of this translation or report on KBo XII 38 is the Cyprus events. So both are narrations of single campaigns of the type alluded to in my classification in [18.1] under section II. Although much is lost in the lacunae, so that one must be cautious about arguing from apparently missing features, it should be noted that no example of the stereotyped "divine assistance" clause is preserved. Narration is in the first person. Allocation of the tribute of the conquered land among the temples of the four principal gods of Hatti is absolutely equal (i 13-20).

13.6 From the standpoint of historiography the most significant feature of this poorly preserved text is the claim to factual veracity in reporting, which the king makes in ii 11-16. Preliminary remarks on the meaning of these lines were made by Güterbock¹²⁰. He noted that the *GIM-an* ... *QATAMMA* (qualis ... talis) construction affirms that "I wrote his deeds just as he was". While the general sense must surely be close to this, in detail this formulation is not correct. What the *GIM-an* ... *QATAMMA* clause indicates is that, since Tudhaliya was a "true king" (a genuine, real king), so it was appropriate for his successor in making the statue to honor him with "true (real, not fictitious) exploits". The enormous importance of this kind of thinking by a Hittite author of historical narrative did not escape Cancik, who combined it with other scattered indications from earlier texts¹²¹. Šuppiluliyama's claim not to have omitted information either through oversight or deliberate suppression is only one half of the two-sided standard of accuracy demanded in the legal sphere: one may neither add nor subtract from the true text¹²².

Part C: Previous Studies of Hittite Historiography

14.0 In 1938 H. G. Güterbock published the second part of his dissertation entitled "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200"¹²³. In the first part he had discussed those Babylonian literary creations which rested upon a historical tradition. The second part concerned Hittite works of a similar type. For the Hittite material he set up two categories: (1) Babylonian literary works taken over into Hittite translations, and (2) native Hittite compositions.

14.1 In the first category belong the Hittite translation of the Sargon "King of Battle" composition, the legendary tale of Naram-Sin (*CTH* 311), and the tale about the hero Gurparanzahu (*CTH* 362). The latter is normally considered to be purely mythological rather than a legendary elaboration of a historical nucleus and thus is found in a different part of La-

¹²⁰ H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 26 (1967) 78-79.

¹²¹ *Grundzüge* 118.

¹²² Nicely formulated in Deuteronomy 4:2 and 12:32. The same idea is conveyed in Hittite legal texts by the use of the verb *wahnu-* "to change, alter (the words of command)", discussed above in [2.7], in footnotes 36-37, and by Neu in *StBoT* 18, 76. A few selected examples may be helpful: "Whoever alters one word of this tablet" KBo IV 10 rev. 26; "If the king gives instructions to any of you, and he (the king's servant) alters the king's word and speaks another word" KUB XXI 42 iv 7f. (from an instructions text); and the interesting description of the ideal, obedient wife, who "doesn't alter her husband's word" but hearkens to it and obeys (KUB XXIV 7 iv 51-53).

¹²³ *ZA* 44 (1938) 45ff.

roche's *CTH* from the Sargon and Naram-Sin materials. One might ask, if Gurparanzahu is included here by virtue of its Babylonian setting, why should not Gilgamesh also belong to the same category? Although the Gilgamesh Epic is clearly the result of much legendary, non-historical overlay, it is acknowledged today that the central character Gilgamesh, king of Uruk, was an historical personage. And in fact the Hittites included in their corpus of Akkadian literary works in translation not only the Sargon and Naram-Sin legends and the Gurparanzahu tale, but also parts of the Gilgamesh Epic (*CTH* 341).

14.2 Recently the corpus of Naram-Sin legend texts from Boğazköy has been significantly enlarged by the publication of fragments from two prisms inscribed at Boğazköy in the cuneiform hand typical of Hattuša (the ductus is old, although perhaps not "typical old"). The texts are written in Akkadian. One prism was six-sided (KBo XIX 98), while the other was four-sided (KBo XIX 99). The smaller fragment (KBo XIX 99) preserves the colophon, which reveals that the scribe, Hanikkuili, was the "son of" (DUMU) Anu-šar-ilāni, who in turn is called "the servant of" a series of gods, including Enbilulu, Ninegal, Anum, Iškur, A.MAL, Aššur, and (the Anatolian deity) Inar. The name Anu-šar-ilāni might indicate that the bearer was a native speaker of Akkadian brought in to Hattuša to train native scribes. On the other hand, a native Hittite, who devoted himself to the study and translation of Akkadian literary works, might have taken a *nom de plume* in the Akkadian language. The expression "son of" (DUMU) could be understood merely as "pupil of", although the Hittites usually employed for this purpose the Sumerogram KAB.ZU.ZU "student, apprentice". The name Hanikkuili was borne by others associated with the scribal craft ¹²⁴.

14.3 Also mentioning Naram-Sin and the city of Agade and perhaps to be added to the texts listed under *CTH* 311 is a small fragment containing parts of ten lines in Hittite (KBo XXII 85). The piece Bo 1309 joined by Otten in ZA 63,86-87 to BoTU 4A, I have seen in Istanbul, and it appears to preserve lines from the obverse not known to Otten.

14.4 Since Güterbock's 1938 study of the Hittite translation of the Sargon legend "King of Battle" further fragments of that composition (*CTH* 310) have come to light at Boğazköy: two smaller pieces (KBo XII 1 and XIII 46) and one larger one (KBo XXII 6), all from the area of the House on the Slope. The right-hand column of the obverse(?) of KBo XIII 46 may be the Hittite translation of a part of the preserved portions

¹²⁴ KBo VI 4 iv colophon.

of the Akkadian version of the King of Battle from El Amarna, but this is not certain¹²⁵. The big piece KBo XXII 6, edited by Güterbock in 1969¹²⁶, adds significantly to the story, since it contains parts not previously known from the Akkadian version.

14.5 Sargon of Akkad's memory was preserved in Hittite written records not only in the translation of the King of Battle text, as Güterbock could know in 1938, but also in mention of him by Hattušili I in the latter's annals (cf. [3.7] and following), as first recognized by Güterbock¹²⁷.

14.6 For the Sargon and Naram-Sin legends we possess parts of the original Akkadian versions. This is not the case, however, for the Gurparanzahu legend. Further fragments of the Hittite translation of the Gurparanzahu legend are KBo XXII 98 and probably KBo XXVI 104.

14.7 The native historical tradition of the Hittites Güterbock subdivided into two categories: (1) products of the "official history writing" ("offizielle Geschichtsschreibung"), and (2) literary creations based upon a tradition which existed alongside the official historiography¹²⁸.

The intention of the 1938 study was to sketch only briefly the official historiography as a background for a more thorough and detailed examination of the second category, which was the Hittite counterpart to the Babylonian compositions which he had examined in part one of the dissertation.

14.8 The principal representatives of category two among the native Hittite compositions were (1) the Zalpa text (*CTH* 3; cf. above in [3.3] and following), (2) the "Cannibal" text KBo III 60 = 2BoTU 21 (*CTH* 17.1; cf. above in [7.2] and following), and (3) the Siege of Uršu text (in Akkadian) (*CTH* 7; cf. above in [4.0] and following). Of these three there have been subsequent textual additions only to the first. The new textual material does not contradict the cautious conclusions drawn by Güterbock in 1938 on the basis of the material then known.

14.9 In connection with the texts which he studied in 1938 Güterbock stressed the use of legendary material in the compositions of his second category and of anecdotal material in his first (the "official historiography").

15.0 Twenty years later, in 1958, Annalies Kammenhuber attempted to survey Hittite historiography on the basis of the enlarged corpus of texts available to her¹²⁹. Her scope was broader than Güterbock's, since she sought to examine (albeit in relatively brief compass) works of both of Güterbock's categories.

¹²⁵ So thinks Meriggi in *Gedenkschrift W. Brandenstein* (Innsbruck 1968) 259ff.

¹²⁶ *MDOG* 101 (1969) 14ff.

¹²⁷ *JCS* 18 (1964) 1ff.

¹²⁸ *ZA* 44 (1938) 101.

¹²⁹ *Saeculum* 9 (1958), 136ff.

15.1 Kammenhuber did not use Güterbock's two-fold division of the texts as her primary guide. Rather she divided Hittite historical texts at the outset chronologically into works from the Old Kingdom and those from the New Kingdom, adding that the differences were sometimes only a matter of degree, since much which was only rudimentary in the Old Kingdom came to full development in the Empire Period.

15.2 Kammenhuber raised certain points which were entirely new, which were not discussed by Güterbock in 1938. In her consideration of the annals genre she advanced the theory that Muršili II was the first Hittite king to compose annals. This theory she defended in an addendum even after the discovery of the Hattušili I annals¹³⁰, although she has since abandoned it. Other scholars would agree that Muršili II devoted more attention to this text type and made important stylistic adaptations (cf. [12.1] and following). But he was surely not the first Hittite king to write annals. I do not find Kammenhuber's "chronicle literature" category very meaningful or useful in the sorting out of significant formal differences among historical writings of the Old Kingdom. A "chronicle" is "a continuous register of events in order of time" (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*), or "a bare or simple chronological record of events" (Webster). By these definitions one can certainly not classify the so-called "Palace Chronicle" as a chronicle. It shows little concern with arranging events strictly according to the temporal sequence. Even the Telepinu Proclamation's long historical prologue better deserves the name "chronicle" than do the texts and fragments which Kammenhuber subsumes under this rubric. A concern for temporal sequence in narration is observed in the Anitta text, the Zalpa tale, the Annals of Hattušili, the fragments of the text describing Muršili I's campaigns against Aleppo and Babylon, and the Telepinu Proclamation. Some fragments are too small to allow speculation as to the observance of chronological sequence in the complete work: Ammuna text, Cannibal text, Telepinu against Lahha, and Zukraši.

15.3 In connection with her discussion of the Telepinu Proclamation she argues that Telepinu made use of pre-existing written sources, which she calls "eine althethitische Chronikliteratur". It would certainly appear that Telepinu employed written sources, where such existed. But to call these a "Chronikliteratur" seems to me to restrict his sources beyond what is required by our present evidence. Kammenhuber explains¹³¹ that by a "Chronikliteratur" she means texts which present events in a relatively objective manner without admixture of mythological

¹³⁰ Page 154, note 101.

¹³¹ Page 143.

material. She excludes from this category also those texts which (like the "Palace Chronicle") employ anecdotes in a moralizing fashion. Thus she seems to set up at least three categories of Old Hittite historiographic literature: (1) the literary works with mythologizing (Güterbock's second category), (2) the anecdotal, moralizing texts, and (3) the "Chronikliteratur". This classification underdifferentiates the texts in her third category. Certainly those texts which she explicitly ascribes to the "Chronikliteratur" in her footnote 37 are underdifferentiated formally. Some such as the Ammuna text (*CTH* 18) — and the Manly Deeds of Hattušili I, which was unknown to her at the time she wrote the body of the article — are first person narratives and clearly of the annalistic type (cf. [3.11] and following and [8.2]). But other texts of her category, such as the texts about Muršili I (*CTH* 10 and 11) are clearly not of this type at all.

15.4 I further question her opinion that historiography in the strict sense of the word begins only in the New Kingdom. Documents such as the Apology of Hattušili III (cf. [13.1]) are no more worthy of the name "historiography in the strict sense" than the Telepinu Proclamation. Both are works of sheer propaganda. On the other hand annalistic texts with less obvious bias such as the Annals of Muršili II have clear Old Kingdom counterparts (Annals of Hattušili I, Ammuna annals). Her criticism of the Sumerian and Babylonian historiographers — that they "had no sense of history as such", that history interested them only insofar as it provided a basis for an ethical doctrine of reward for virtue and punishment for evil¹³³ — applies equally well to the best of Hittite historiographic works. The Telepinu Proclamation and the prologues to the state treaties were not the result of disinterested inquiry by Hittite kings into the causes of a present situation; they were rather the product of a chancellory intent on giving a decidedly pro-Hittite, highly selective pre-history, calculated to reinforce present policy. Such literary efforts did not create new policy, they defended a pre-formulated existing policy. It seems to me, therefore, gratuitous to speak of a praiseworthy "historischer Sinn" of the Hittites, which was clearly superior to the concepts of the neighboring contemporary peoples and which one must attribute to the symbiosis between Hattians and Indo-European Hittites.

15.5 Neither Güterbock in 1938 nor Kammenhuber in 1958 had access to all the texts which are available today. One cannot predict where they would have fitted into their schemata the newly discovered texts. One assumes that in 1938 Güterbock included under the official historiography all historical texts and fragments of such which he did not explicitly assign to the literary creations category, and the latter he limited to four: (1) the

¹³³ Page 146.

Zalpa story, (2) the Cannibal story, (3) BoTU 14, and (4) the Siege of Uršu. Aside from the additions to the Zalpa story, which certainly confirm his attribution of it to the literary creations, the only important totally unknown texts to appear have been the Manly Deeds of Hattušili I and the Zukraši text. These one would assume he would have included under official historiography.

16.0 In two monographs published in 1970¹³³ and 1976¹³⁴ Hubert Cancik greatly clarified the subject of Hittite historiography in the area of its techniques. Although his two studies have made contributions in many areas of the subject, I would judge his finest contribution to be the detailed analysis of the historiography of the Muršili II annals (cf. above in [12.1-2]). Although his works came to my attention too late to be used in the basic manuscript, which was prepared for oral presentation in Toronto in autumn, 1976, I have tried to integrate his ideas as fully as possible in subsequent drafts.

16.1 A short contribution by A. Archi, which appeared in 1969, has not escaped my notice¹³⁵. Its contributions are more modest, and it is devoted more to the Old Hittite period, which was already so well treated by Güterbock.

Part D: Conclusions about Hittite Historiography

17.0 A primary question is the Hittites' own literary categories, as they affect the texts which we have been calling "historical". Such terminology occurs either on the colophons of the tablets themselves, or on the bibliographic entries of the Hittites' archive shelf lists (what E. Laroche treats as "débris de fichier" in *CTH*, pp. 153ff.). What name did they give to compositions which we call "decrees", "annals", "apologies" or "chronicles"?

17.1 The documentation of the two types just mentioned is unfortunately incomplete. Colophons are broken away for several of the most important examples of compositions in the historiographic category. The shelf lists treated by Laroche cover partially the contents of several rooms in buildings A, C, E, G, H and K, all of which are on the acropolis (Büyük-kale). We have virtually no shelf lists known to derive from the House on the Slope or the Great Temple, the two sites from which derive most of the historical texts whose find spots we know. From the Great Temple comes only the fragment KBo XIX 35, which mentions three treaties.

¹³³ H. Cancik, *Mythische und historische Wahrheit* (Stuttgart).

¹³⁴ H. Cancik, *Grundzüge der hethitischen und alttestamentlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (Wiesbaden).

¹³⁵ A. Archi, "La storiografia ittita", *Athenaeum* NS 47, 7-20.

The only historical texts mentioned in existing shelf lists from the acropolis are a very few treaties (cf. *CTH*, p. 163).

17.2 Treaties were known by various terms. During the Old Kingdom they were called "tablets of *takšul*", while in the New Kingdom they were known as "tablets of *išhiul*" ¹³⁶. The former term stresses the aspect of peaceful concurrence, the latter the imposition of an obligation. They could also be referred to as "tablets of the oath".

17.3 The Political Testament of Hattušili I (*CTH* 6) has a preserved colophon. In the colophon no single technical term is employed to describe the composition, but the Akkadian verb *wu"uru* there describes what the king does to his son Muršili in this text ¹³⁷. *wu"uru* should probably be translated "to give commands, instructions, orders" here (cf. *CAD* A, 320ff. sub 3). Thus what we call the Political Testament, stressing the bequeathing of power, the Hittite scribe conceived as an Old Kingdom prototype to the so-called "Instructions Texts" from the New Kingdom period. Only in this case the recipient is not a civil servant, but the newly appointed heir, the crown prince.

17.4 The Telepinu Proclamation, which as we saw has the form of an edict or decree, is called in its colophon only "tablet one of Telepinu; finished" ¹³⁸.

17.5 There is no colophon for the Anitta text (*CTH* 1), and none preserved for the Zalpa Text (*CTH* 3), the siege of Uršu (*CTH* 7), the Palace Chronicle (*CTH* 8), the Ammuna annals (*CTH* 18), or the texts dealing with Muršili I's and Hanteli I's activities (*CTH* 10-13).

17.6 All annals texts for which colophons are preserved use the technical term *LÚ-natar* (= *pišnatar*) "manhood, manly deed, exploit" ¹³⁹. The connection of this word both with the sexual capacity of a man and his military prowess I have discussed elsewhere ¹⁴⁰. The nexus is important for the use of certain masculine and feminine symbols in the magic rituals. The term *LÚ-natar* "exploit, manly deed" is found not only in the colophons as a title for the genre annals, but in the body of military narratives. In his Apology Hattušili III wrote: "this was my first manly deed; my lady Ishtar on this campaign for the first time called my name" (*Hatt.* II 29-30).

¹³⁶ H. Otten, *JCS* 5 (1951) 129ff.

¹³⁷ F. Sommer & A. Falkenstein, *HAB* 16-17, 200.

¹³⁸ BoTU 23A iv 27-28.

¹³⁹ KBo X 2 iv colophon 1'-2'; KBo II 5 iv colophon (= *AM* 192f.); KUB XXVI 27:17, 19. *pišnataršet* in KUB XX 54 + KBo XIII 122: 7 corresponds in the parallel KBo XXI 22 obv. 26' to *LÚ-taršetwa*.

¹⁴⁰ H. A. Hoffner, *JBL* 85 (1966) 327 with note 4.

17.7 There is unfortunately no colophon to the great Apology of Hattušili III, so that we cannot learn from that what term was applied to it by the scribes.

17.8 Because the find spots of the vast majority of historical texts are presently unknown, it is risky to generalize from those which we know. We saw earlier (cf. [17.1]) that of the historical texts from the Old Kingdom period, most whose find spots are known came from the House on the Slope and the Great Temple. But the Manly Deeds of Hattušili I came from Building K on the Acropolis (cf. [1.10]). So perhaps nothing significant can be learned from the find spots as to which texts the Hittites themselves considered "historical" or even "literary".

17.9 An interesting question is who constituted the intended audience for the historical texts?¹⁴¹

None of the texts is monumental. None was written on a stela for the general public to read. Anitta's text, we are told in his own words, was originally placed in his gateway¹⁴². But what we have in Hittite is probably not that original inscription, and it was certainly not displayed. If Güterbock's theory¹⁴³ is correct that the Nişantaş hieroglyphic inscription is to be found in translation or paraphrase in KBo XII 38 (CTH 121), this would be evidence for a monumental usage of a historical narrative. One wonders also just what kind of a monument was erected by Hattušili III to celebrate his victories, which twice in his Apology he refers to with the words: *šU-an ... wedaḥḥun* (II 25, 44) "I erected/built a 'hand'". Could this victory monument have been inscribed?

17.10 But aside from these somewhat dubious cases it would appear that no Hittite historical text as we have it was intended for a public display. If the text itself was not be visually displayed, there is still the possibility that it was to be read aloud in public. We know, for instance, that the state treaties with vassals were to be read aloud. To be sure the audience was not crowds of ordinary citizens assembled in the street, but rather a select group of nobles assembled in court. The Political Testament and the Telepinu Proclamation were addressed to the king's court, the body of nobles who served him in high capacities.

17.11 The annals texts are another matter. No evidence suggests that they were to be read aloud before the assembled court. Nothing in the wording of the texts — no second person pronouns consistently applied throughout the texts — indicates the addressees. One can only make an educated guess based upon the overall content and possible pur-

¹⁴¹ H. Cancik, *Grundzüge* 54.

¹⁴² KBo III 22 + obv. 33f.

¹⁴³ *JNES* 26 (1967) 73ff.

poses of the texts. The Ten-Year Annals of Muršili, as we saw (cf. [12.1]), are a record of how in a delimited period of time the young king — empowered by the sun goddess — defeated his enemies who belittled him and thus proved himself a man and a king. The opening and closing paragraphs of the composition suggest that the documentary record itself may have been made as part of the king's discharge of indebtedness to the sun goddess¹⁴⁴. It is not too much to assume that the sun goddess herself was the primary intended audience. This is not to say that all Hittite annals were a account rendered to the gods. There is no similar indication for the Annals of Hattušili I or for the other annalistic compositions. Most of the tablets and tablet fragments of Muršili II annals whose find spots are known come from the Acropolis (Building A), but at least one (KBo XVI 5+KUB XIX 40) from the east magazine of the Great Temple. At least that copy of Muršili annals could have been "placed before the deity". We have seen that the annals seek to present the most flattering picture possible of the king. Whom was the author trying to impress?

17.12 In [1.5] we raised the question: Which royal activities were chosen for commemoration in the historical texts? Answers have been suggested for each text, as it was discussed in turn in [3.12f.], [4.1f.], [5.1], [6.2], [12.1] and [12.4-5]. Some final observations on the subject are now in order. Hittite kings did not devote much space in their inscriptions to describing their building activities. Goetze¹⁴⁵ noted that we lack Hittite building inscriptions and that we possess only one textual reference to a royal hunt. One may wish to discount Anitta's references to building activities¹⁴⁶, because he did not reign in Hattuša and may not have been a "Hittite" in the narrow sense, although his inscription is written in the Hittite language. But happily there is other evidence. Muršili I's successor, Hanteli I, recorded his building of fortification walls in Hattuša¹⁴⁷. Šuppiluliuma I and Muršili II reported fortifying cities and lands¹⁴⁸. And Hattušili III commemorated in his inscriptions the building of temples and cities. In his Apology he twice mentioned the erection of victory stelae, which he designated with the sign šu "hand". In another place he described the preparation of a "bone(?) house" (Hittite *haštiyaš per*)¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁴ Especially KBo III 4 iv 48, on which see A. Götze, *AM* 137, note a.

¹⁴⁵ A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (1957) 92; R. Hardy, *AJSL* 58 (1941) 184.

¹⁴⁶ Anitta Text, §§ 14 and 15; see E. Neu, *StBoT* 18 (1974), 12-15, lines 55ff.

¹⁴⁷ BoTU 20 (= KBo III 57) iii 12ff.

¹⁴⁸ H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956) 90, fragment 28, A i 1-17, 31ff.; A. Goetze, *AM* 92f., 99f., 105f., 120f., etc.

¹⁴⁹ Apology of Hattušili, II 25 and 44, on which see C. H. Gordon, *Before the Bible*, 93, H. M. Wolf, *The Apology of Hattušiliš Compared...* (Ann Arbor

Yet, although building activities form a part of the many royal achievements worthy of mention, no separate part of the text was assigned to building activities, as was true in Mesopotamian texts. The building activities were simply noted in the course of the historical narrative.

17.13 Later Assyrian kings liked to portray themselves on hunts or at banquets. In his classic study of Hittite civilization the late Albrecht Goetze observed that, whereas the pre-Old Kingdom monarch Anitta likewise described a hunt in which he took part, later Hittite kings eschewed the mention of royal hunts, if indeed they ever participated in such. Anitta not only lists the animals caught on the hunt, but informs us that before departing on the hunt he made a vow to a deity: "I made a vow (to the deity) and [on] a hu[nt I went]" ¹⁵⁰. Since the vow immediately preceded the hunt, I would suspect that he vowed that, if he found success on the hunt, he would dedicate all or a portion of the catch to the deities' temples. But Goetze is right: Anitta's successors never mention royal hunts. Neither are banquets reported in texts or depicted in the art of the Old and New Kingdoms (c. 1700-1200 B.C.). By contrast and perhaps owing to the Syro-Assyrian influence the so-called Neo-Hittite kings of 1200-800 B.C. often described building activities in hieroglyphic inscriptions and were fond of hunting and banquet scenes in their monumental art.

17.14 Articles have been written about the sense of causality in Hittite historiography ¹⁵¹. It is true that in some compositions such as the plague prayers of Muršili II the causes for catastrophes were sought in events of the past. But these are not direct causes. They do not function on the purely horizontal level. An ancestor's sin does not bring about a plague except insofar as it infuriates a deity. Thus the Hittites viewed history in much the same way as their ancient neighbors: the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the West Semites. They saw their gods as intervening in the course of human affairs in such a way that the actions of men which pleased or displeased these gods inevitably influenced the subsequent course of history. The records of the past could afford

1967) 52 and 189 with note 139, and H. A. Hoffner, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 30 (1968) 222 with note 6. For the *ḫaštiyaš* per see Apology of Hattušili, IV 75f.

¹⁵⁰ Anitta text, line 59, which should *nu maltahhun nu huwar[nuwanzi paun]*, instead of *huwar[tahhun]* read by E. Neu, *StBoT* 18 (1974) 14f., 44, 87. This sentence is separated from the preceding narrative of building activity by a paragraph line. It is immediately followed by the account of a royal hunt, in which animals were captured alive and brought back to the capital city, where they were placed in a zoological garden, probably in fulfilment of the oath to the deity (*maltahhun*).

¹⁵¹ A. Malamat, *VT* 5 (1955) 1-12.

to subsequent generations certain lessons (hence, the anecdotes in the Old Kingdom texts), but these lessons were of a very simple kind. No historian king, writing of the past, ever expressed himself thus: "The reason why Hanteli was unable to succeed politically was because his propaganda was inferior and his overall strategy was wrong". Rather such a king's error was in murder and intrigue within the royal family, matters more ethical or religious than practical and secular. We should not look for the attitude or methods of a Thucydides in ancient Hittite historiographers. The world was not ready for that kind of *ιστορία* yet and would not be for many centuries.

17.15 Bearing upon the native conceptions of history is the question of divine involvement in past, present, and future events. The Hittites were kept from a free, and totally horizontal, world view of causation by their religious conceptions. The gods intervened to influence directly the course of human events. In the most sober and non-mythological of annalistic texts, those of Muršili II, the storm god intervenes in the struggle against Uhhaziti of Arzawa by hurling a thunderbolt and striking the enemy king to his knees¹⁵³. Muršili appeals to the storm god as arbiter of international law to decide the suit in his favor by letting him win the battle¹⁵³. Even more crassly folklorish is the description of the god Hašameli making Muršili and his men invisible so that undetected by the enemy they may carry out tactical manoeuvres¹⁵⁴. This is surely divine intervention and causation. One need only mention the Apology of Hattušili with its flat statement that "in every instance" the goddess Shaushka took the king by the hand and rescued him. Admittedly such striking cases of divine intervention in historical narrative are not equally frequent in all historiographic compositions; they are totally lacking from the Telepinu Proclamation, the Palace Chronicles, Siege of Uršu, etc. There "the gods" in the anonymous plural form show pleasure in good kings and displeasure with usurpers and assassins, who have shed royal blood¹⁵⁵. Yet even if less pronounced, the same basic view is present.

17.16 Equally relevant is the question of predetermination of events, as we might say, by "fate". The Hittites believed in fate deities who attended births of gods and kings (at least) and decreed fates¹⁵⁶. One doesn't know how detailed these fates were. They may have been no

¹⁵³ KBo III 4 ii 15ff. (*AM* 46f.) = Ten-Year Annals § 17.

¹⁵³ See above in footnote 104.

¹⁵⁴ KBo IV 4 iii 33f. (*AM* 126ff.), KUB XIX 37 iii 16f. (*AM* 173-4); A. Goetze, *Language* 29 (1953) 269f.

¹⁵⁵ Telepinu Proclamation (BoTU 23A) i 42f., 66ff. See further discussion in [9.3].

¹⁵⁶ See H. A. Hoffner, *JNES* 27 (1968) 198ff.

more specific than "long years and success". Once in a mythological text an eagle reports that these deities were spinning the years of the king and queen like yarn¹⁵⁷. In another mythological text the destiny of the monster Ullikummi is to defeat the storm god Teshub and smash the latter's town Kummiya, which he later does, although he is finally defeated¹⁵⁸. In the tale of Appu the father himself gives predetermination of the characters of his two sons by the names he bestows: "bad" and "good"¹⁵⁹. Certainly the thinking of the Hittites was conditioned by certain ideas of predetermination of events.

Predictions were not only related in mythological texts; one can find them in historical texts too. In the Apology of Hattušili III the goddess "Ishtar" (Shaushka) promised future kingship on many occasions to Hattušili, often doing so through his wife Puduhepa's dreams. "Because formerly Ishtar my lady kept promising me kingship, at that time Ishtar my lady appeared to my wife in a dream, saying: '... Now I will take him up and install him as priest of the sun goddess of Arinna (= emperor)' " (col. IV, 7ff.). "My lady Ishtar supported me. And according as she had been promising me, just so it also came to pass" (col. IV, 16-17). But despite the clear examples of divine predictions, in which gods reveal their intended actions (and therefore the future) to men through dreams, divination, and occasionally inspired men¹⁶⁰, we possess in Hittite literature no examples of "prophecy texts", such as are found in Mesopotamia.

17.17 It is known that in ancient Mesopotamia the stream of events in time which we call "history" was conceived neither as a single line leading to a goal (eschatological) nor as a series of recurring cycles¹⁶¹. No one has ever written on this question with regard to Hittite texts. There is very little Hittite evidence to use in this subject. One fascinating passage at the end of a ritual text, however, deserves to be quoted as possible evidence for a kind of eschatology among the Hittites. The text describes how at the end of the ceremony certain ingredients of the magical rites are poured into a cow's horn, and the two persons on whose behalf the ritual was performed seal it over on top. Then the practitioner, who was an old woman, says: "When the former kings shall return and look after the law of the land, then only may this seal be broken!"¹⁶². I seriously doubt that the speaker was speaking frivolously and only had in

¹⁵⁷ KUB XXIX 1 ii 8ff. (ANET 357).

¹⁵⁸ See note 156 above.

¹⁵⁹ See note 156 above.

¹⁶⁰ A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (1957) 147ff.

¹⁶¹ See A. K. Grayson, *Or* 49 (1980) 191.

¹⁶² KBo II 3 iv 10-13; English translation in ANET 351; see discussion by H. G. Güterbock in *Symbolae Koschaker* 26ff.

mind the thought "since these kings will never come back, the seal will never be broken". Rather this passage attests a belief — how widespread we cannot say — that at some indefinite future time the kings of the past would return to earth to restore law, order, and prosperity.

17.18 Was there any body of historical records kept by the scribes which related the events of history in chronological order in a detached manner without flattery and rhetoric? Kammenhuber sought such texts among the Old Kingdom compositions such as *CTH* 10-18. We have maintained that at least *CTH* 11A and 13A are first person narratives of an annalistic type. Where some of these texts contain third person narrative, they may actually be relating the events of the author-king's predecessors, about whom he feels no need to boast¹⁶³. They can hardly serve as evidence for objective historical memoranda. Although such memoranda might have been kept on perishable materials such as the wax-covered wood tablets mentioned in Hittite cuneiform sources, no documentary evidence indicates that the Hittite "wood scribes" copied historical texts or kept data relating to military campaigns, etc.¹⁶⁴.

17.19 In his analysis of ancient Mesopotamian historiography A. K. Grayson¹⁶⁵ attributes to them six motives for investigating and writing about the past: (1) to create propaganda, (2) didactic use, (3) chauvinism or national pride, (4) calendrical or chronological aids, (5) use for omen apodosis, and (6) to foster the cult of the dead kings. The question naturally arises: Were any of these motives operative for Hittites who investigated their pasts? Some clearly were.

Certainly there is no evidence that the Hittites conserved data for calendrical or chronological purposes. The total absence of date lists, king lists, eponym lists and the like, amply attests this disinterest in matters chronological. Nor does any Hittite text ever date an event in "the *n*th year of king so-and-so". All omen collections at Hattuša are copies or translations of Mesopotamian originals, and we have no evidence that they ever composed new ones. That offerings were made to dead kings (hence "cult") we know from the offering lists with names of kings, queens and members of the royal family¹⁶⁶. That the annals of dead kings may

¹⁶³ If KBo III 57 (BoTU 20) is not a *Sammeltafel*, then the end, which is a first person Hanteli text indicates that the earlier columns (third person report of Hattušili I and Muršili I activities) may have been Hanteli's review of the deeds of his predecessors.

¹⁶⁴ See my note 11 and [1.7-8] above.

¹⁶⁵ *Or* 49, 189-191.

¹⁶⁶ *CTH* 661; cf. H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951) 47ff.; A. Goetze, *JAOS* 72 (1952) 67ff.; *JCS* 11 (1957) 53ff.; H. Otten, *Abhandlungen der Akad. Wiss. Lit. Mainz*, Jahrg. 1968, Nr. 3, p. 125.

have been used in this cult would be a supposition not yet proven, but certainly not improbable. In fact, thanks to Güterbock's interpretation of KBo XII 38, we know that Šuppiluliuma II made a statue of his deceased predecessor Tudhaliya IV for his mortuary temple and inscribed on it the account of the dead king's conquest of Cyprus. If this practice had roots in the past, or better, yet hitherto undiscovered precedents, it would document exactly this Mesopotamian motive to foster the cult of the dead kings.

17.20 It is clear that many historical works (among them the Telepinu Proclamation and the Apology of Hattušili III) were primarily works of royal propaganda. This does not utterly preclude their use in reconstructing the actual course of events, but it was clearly their chief intent and should guide the modern scholar in avoiding an improper and uncritical use of their evidence. Cultic propaganda such as one finds in Mesopotamia and Israel and Egypt is not so easy to identify. It goes without saying that royal propaganda also benefited the cults of the deities who were the king's patrons, in Muršili II's case the sun goddess of Arinna, in Hattušili III's the Shaushka of Šamuha. But such indirect benefits do not qualify these works in the same way that a direct and primary purpose for a composition made by the priesthood of a certain deity would.

17.21 A didactic use of a work of historiography can also be demonstrated for the Palace Chronicle (cf. [6.1-3]) with its long sequence of anecdotes about civil servants, their mistakes and failures, and their punishment by the king. Other examples would certainly be found in the Political Testament of Hattušili I (cf. [5.0 f.]) and the story of the Siege of Uršu (cf. [4.3]). Admonitory anecdotes are also found in treaties (Hukkana) and instructions texts (Zuliya in *CTH* 265); cf. [1.4]. Didactic in its stress on the need for unity in the royal family is the Telepinu Proclamation (cf. [9.0 ff.]).

17.22 I am much less sure that I can identify works of Hittite historiography composed in order to appeal to "national pride". My first reaction was to include that motivation along with Grayson's (4) and (5) as absent from Hittite historiography. On further reflection it occurred to me that even royal annals could be directed to the national pride. In fact a few examples of military narrative from the Hittite Old Kingdom contain long sections composed in "we" verb forms¹⁶⁷. But I would judge that the Hittites had nothing remotely approaching the Homeric Iliad in its role as the buttress of national Greek pride and unifier of the various Greek sub-groups.

¹⁶⁷ See above in [7.2] with bibliography.

18.0 Although I do not claim the following classification of Hittite historical texts to be definitive, I offer it for consideration. Different classifications have been offered by Güterbock (1938) and Kammenhuber (1958), which were considered above (cf. [14.0 ff.] and [15.1-4]).

18.1 I. Narratives of military campaigns with prominent division into years and with standard stylistic format (itinerary, naming of cities, stereotyped capsule descriptions of battles, listing of booty and captives). Cf. [3.4 ff.] and [12.0 ff.]. Most are phrased in first person, as though told by the king himself. Some are told by his son (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma), but still by a reigning king.

II. Narratives of one or more military operations within a single year (not therefore comprising a complete record of a single campaign). The existing examples (Siege of Uršu, "Cannibal text", aspects of Political Test. Hatt. I) happen also to exhibit extensive legendary-mythological elaboration.

III. Court histories describing activities of persons in governmental or administrative capacities or members of the immediate royal family. The activities so described are customarily misbehavior for which the perpetrators are removed from office. Examples: Political Testament of Hattušili I, "Palace Chronicle".

IV. Texts describing course of events over a lengthy period leading up to the accession of a usurper. To be called "accession narratives" or more specifically "political apologies"¹⁸⁸. Both examples (Telepinu Proclamation, Apology of Hattušili III) assume the outward form of edicts, with prefaced historical narrative. Narrative sections of the two share the same basic organization:

- 1) the worthy remote ancestors — the golden age past,
- 2) the unworthy immediate predecessor(s) — intrusive chaos,
- 3) the usurper as restorer of order and renewer of golden age.

V. Sections of historical narrative in compositions whose content is not primarily historical narrative:

- 1) In treaty or edict prologues: examples are to be found in virtually all state treaties and in most known edicts (e.g., Mittannamuwa),
- 2) In royal prayers: Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal (Kaška incursions), Muršili plague prayers, Hattušili and Puduhepa prayers.

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¹⁸⁸ Cf. H. A. Hoffner, in Goedicke & Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity* 49ff.

Why parḫu- Is Not the Hittite Word for "Fish"

Author(s): Howard Berman and Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Jan., 1980, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan., 1980), pp. 48-49

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1359791>

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WHY *parḫu*- IS NOT THE HITTITE WORD FOR “FISH”

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In Hittite, “fish” is usually written with the ideogram KU₆, which takes the phonetic complements of a *u*-stem noun.¹ In the Inhaltsübersicht to KBo 10, Heinrich Otten compared KBo 10 36 iii 4: *ARNABI MUŠEN.ḪI.A páṛ-ḫu*[- and KBo 10 52:10: [A]*RNABI MUŠEN.ḪI.A KU₆.ḪI.A* and suggested that *pár-ḫu*[- was perhaps the Hittite word for “fish.” In StBoT 2 p. 24, Onofrio Carruba cited Rost to the effect that the Hittite word underlying KU₆, “fish,” was a *u*-stem and called Otten’s suggestion that it was *parḫu*(-) “possible” (möglich). The form *parḫu*[- was also cited in Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch Erg. 2 and in Hoffner, An English-Hittite Glossary. The only dissenting opinion has been that of Hans Güterbock, who in his review of StBoT 2 in Or NS 39 (1970) 578 pointed out that KBo 10 36 and KBo 10 52 were not closely parallel and that the equation of KU₆ with *pár-ḫu*[- was therefore unwarranted. In this note we will demonstrate that *pár-ḫu*[- is to be restored *pár-ḫu-u-wa-ya-aš*, which is the genitive of a noun *parḫūwaya*- or *parḫūwai*-. It is the name of an animal whose meat was dried and eaten, but it is not the Hittite reading of the ideogram KU₆, “fish.”

The two passages which Otten compared read as follows:

KBo 10 36 iii 3’-4’:

[U]ZU.*i-ku-na-an* UZU.*ku-za-ni-y[a-an*
 [U]ZU *AR-NA-[B]I MUŠEN.ḪI.A páṛ-ḫu*[-

KBo 10 52:9’-10’:

[. . . UZU.*i-ku-na-a*]n UZU.*ku-uz-za-ni-an* U[ZU
 [. . . UZU A]*R-NA-BI MUŠEN.ḪI.A KU₆.ḪI.A U[ZU?*
 (paragraph continues)

1. Liane Rost, MIO 1 (1953) 371.

Let us compare the first of these passages with the following section of the KILAM festival:

KBo 10.28 + 33 v 1-2:

UZU.GU[D] UZU.UDU UZU.EDIN.NA MUŠE[N.ḪI.A]

UZU.[UD.]DU.A *pár-ḫu-u-wa-ya-aš*

“beef, mutton, hare meat,² bird[s]

“dried meat of the *parḫūwaya*-³

The occurrence of *pár-ḫu-u-wa-ya-aš* in a list of creatures which provide edible meat is good evidence that this word is to be restored in KBo 10 36 iii 4'. The phrase “dried meat of the *parḫūwayaš*” requires that *parḫūwayaš* be in the genitive case. The underlying stem must be *parḫūwaya-* or *parḫūwai-*.

Can *parḫūway(a)-* be the Hittite word for “fish”? As noted above, it has long been known that KU₆ takes the phonetic complements of a *u*-stem noun. Since *parḫūway(a)-* is an *a*-stem or *ai*-stem noun, we must rule it out as a possible reading of KU₆.⁴

Unfortunately we cannot determine more about *parḫūway(a)-* than the immediate context reveals. It was some sort of creature whose meat was dried and presumably eaten.

2. The translation “hare meat” for UZU.AM.QA.BUR.NA requires comment. AM.QA.BUR.NA, to be read EDIN.NA, is also found in KUB 3 94 ii 4, where according to the copy it is written GA.QA.BUR.NA and is translated by Akkadian *še-e-[ru]*, “steppe.” Note that the form of QA with only two wedges is the same as in KUB 3 94 ii 4 and KBo 10 28+33 v 1, and contrasts with the form of QA in KUB 3 94 ii 5, where DUG.QA.BUR is to be read BAḪĀR and is translated by Akkadian *pa-a-ḫa-[ru]*, “potter.” In the lists of meats assembled here [U]ZU AR-NA-[B] MUŠEN.ḪI.A in KBo 10 36 iii 4' and [UZU A]R-NA-BI MUŠEN.ḪI.A in KBo 10 52:10', when confronted with UZU.EDIN.NA MUŠE[N.ḪI.A] in KBo 10 28+33 v 1, suggests that EDIN.NA here is a Sumerogram meaning “hare.” Since the Sumerian equivalents for Akkadian *arnabu* known from Sumero-Akkadian lexical texts, KA.edin.na, a.gú.edin.na, A.GĀR.edin.na, all contain EDIN.NA as a second component, it is likely that the scribe of KBo 10 28+33 either accidentally omitted a sign (such as KA) before EDIN.NA or employed an abbreviated form of the normal Sumerogram for “hare.” This Sumerogram is also found in KBo 10 30 ii 3: AM?.Q]A.BUR.NA

3. A genitive may follow the noun it modifies when the modified noun is written with an ideogram. See Friedrich Hethitisches Elementarbuch 1 122 sec. 209b.

4. To forestall the objection that *parḫūway(a)-* may be an adjective based on **parḫu-*, “fish,” we wish to point out that Hittite has no adjectival suffix *-ai-* or *-aya-*.

The Old Hittite Version of Laws 164-166

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Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Jul. - Oct., 1981, Vol. 33, No. 3/4 (Jul. - Oct., 1981), pp. 206-209

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1359903>

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THE OLD HITTITE VERSION OF LAWS 164-166

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H. Otten and Chr. Rüster copied as text number 5 in their recent volume of Hittite rituals and festival descriptions, KBo 25, a small fragment, which they regarded as similar to text 4, designated as "Ritualtext in älterer Schrift."¹ The small size of KBo 25 5, and the occurrence in it of words commonly occurring in rituals and festivals gives the impression that it is indeed such a text. In fact, however, it is a duplicate to Hittite Laws 164-65. More important, although it may not be in what is sometimes called "typical old ductus" (now Old Ductus, Type 1),² its script is quite similar to that of the only older script copy of the second half of the Hittite law collection (Laws 101-200) known to date, that which is designated by the siglum q.³ Indeed, KBo 25 5 joins⁴ KUB 29 30 (q₄) back to back, so that KBo 25 5:5' is continued on the right by KUB 29 30 (q₄) iii 1'.⁵ Had the two pieces not joined, KBo 25 5 would have constituted the only evidence to date for the existence of a second Old Script copy of laws 101-200 in the thirteenth-century archives of Hattuša.

KBo 25 5 shows a script which is in no way clearly different from q. In addition it follows q's practice of presenting within the confines of a single paragraph matter which in the New Script copies was subdivided into two separate paragraphs.⁶ Its spellings conform to the pattern which we observe elsewhere in texts which show older script. Old Hittite scribes more often employ *a-ap-pa* than EGIR-*pa* for the expression *appa*, as they do *še-e-er* rather than *še-er* for *šer*.⁷

1. KBo 25 p. iv.

2. See Neu, StBoT 25 xv.

3. Güterbock, JCS 16 (1962) 17ff. and 20.

4. This join was physically confirmed by the writer and H. G. Güterbock on separate visits to Ankara in 1981.

5. See the copy and join sketch of q by Güterbock in JCS 16 (1962) 20.

6. In q one can see this feature in the very next laws, for q has laws 166 and 167 as a single paragraph.

7. The diachronic relevance of these spellings has often been discussed. For *a-ap-pa* and EGIR-*pa* the most recent treatment is Kammenhuber's in HW² 148ff. For *še-e-er* see Carruba, ZDMG Supp. 1 236; Otten StBoT 11 (1969) 20; Houwink ten Cate Record of the Early Hittite Empire (1970) 12; and, discounting the spelling as diachronically significant, Mauer in Heinhold-Krahmer et al, Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie, Texte der Hethiter 9 (1979) 173.

Transliteration of Old Hittite Text of Laws 164-66 (KBo 25 5)
with Restorations and Variants from New Script Copies⁸

§164-65 [(*ták-ku a^a-ap-pa-at-ri-wa*)]-an-zi ku-iš-ki p[(*a-iz-zi ta šu-ul-la-tar^b i-e-ez-z*)]
[*n(a-aš-šu NINDA.ḫar-ši-i)*]n na-aš-ma GEŠTIN^c iš-pa-an-
t]u^d(-zi k)i-n(u-zi^e ta 1 UDU)]
[(10 NINDA.ḪI.A 1 DUG KA.D)]Û pa-a-i ta Ê-SÛ a-ap-pa^f
šu-up-p[(*i-ia-aḫ-ḫi ku-it-ma-an*)]
[ú^g-i^h-itⁱ-ti^j] me-e-a-ni^h a-ri ta Ê-iš-š[(*i SAG.KI-za ḫar-zi*)]

§166 [(*ták-ku*) o oⁱ] NUMUN-an še-e-er ku-iš-ki^j [(*šu-ú-ni-iz-zi* . . .)]

*e₂ 7: a[p . . .]. *j i 29: -tar over erased -an-na-az. *j i 30: GİŠ.GEŠTIN. In KBo 25 5 there is no word space between GEŠTIN and išpantuzi. Perhaps GEŠTIN is a determinative here. *j i 30: iš-pa-an-du-zi. *§ line between kinuzi and ta in j. *j i 31: EGIR-pa. *space for four somewhat wide signs. *j i 32: MU.KAM-za me-e-ḫu-ni, see the comments below. *j i 34: *ták-ku* NUMUN-ni še-er NUMUN-an ku-iš-ki šu-ú-ni-iz-zi. *ku-iš-ki* in KBo 25 5 is written smaller and above the level of the other signs in its line, as though it were a later addition by the scribe.

The apparent change in word order in the first line of law 166 from the Old Hittite copy's [*takku* x x] NUMUN-an šēr kuiški [šūnizzi] to the New Hittite copy's *takku* NUMUN-ni šer NUMUN-an kuiški šūnizzi is striking. If we restore the Old Hittite copy as [*takku* NUMUN-ni] NUMUN-an šēr kuiški [šūnizzi], the function of šēr would be different from its function in the New Hittite copy. In the Old Hittite copy it would be separated from NUMUN-ni by the intervening direct object NUMUN-an and would be a free-standing adverb, while in the New Hittite copy it would have become a postposition governing the locative NUMUN-ni. Another possibility, however, should be considered. If the Old Hittite copy had *takku* NUMUN-an (or NUMUN.ḪI.A) NUMUN-an šēr kuiški šūnizzi, one might consider the first NUMUN-an (or NUMUN.ḪI.A) as the neuter plural direct object and the second NUMUN-an immediately before (here postpositional) šēr as an old genitive plural in -an. One could translate: "If someone sows seeds on top of seeds (already sown by another)." And since the New Hittite scribe preferred the construction of locative + postpositional šēr⁹ to genitive + substantival šēr,¹⁰ he reworded the clause, in the process transforming the NUMUN's into collective singulars ("seed on top of seed").

In a somewhat similar construction found in law 146, the Old Hittite copy q¹¹ has: *ta-aš-ša-an* [*ḫa-ap-pa-ri*? še]-e-er! *ḫa-ap-pár i-e-ez-zi* "(The second buyer) offers (lit.: 'does' or 'makes') a purchase price above the

8. See the edition by Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze* (1959) 74f.

9. Attested already in old script, StBoT 8 ii 33f. and p. 85.

10. Attested in old script, StBoT 8 71, 85.

11. KUB 29 29:9-10.

(previously accepted) purchase price.” The New Hittite copy a₁¹² has the variant: *ta-aš-ša-an ha-ap-pa-ri [še-er ha-ap-pár i-i]a-zi*. What makes me more confident in this instance that q used the locative *happari* is the presence of the sentence particle *-ššan*, which, as Otten observed¹³ regularly accompanies the locative + postpositional *šēr* in Old Script, as opposed to the genitive + substantival *šēr* without *-ššan*. Since there is no space for [*ták-ku-uš-ša-an NUMUN-ni*] in the Old Hittite copy KBo 25 5:5, one might tentatively use Otten’s criterion to decide in favor of the substantival *šēr* in the Old Hittite version of law 166, as opposed to the postpositional *šēr* with *-ššan* in the Old Hittite version of law 146. If it be objected that according to Goetze,¹⁴ *-kan* is regularly lacking with Old Hittite *takku*, it should be noted that this does not hold for the sentence particle *-an* (*ták-ku-wa-ta-an pár-na-ma ku-e-el-ka pé-eš-ši-iz-zi*¹⁵), nor for *-šan* (*ták-ku-wa-aš-ša-an kīn hazzizi tawa DINGIR-L[UM] ták-ku-wa-aš-ša-an nattama ha[zzizi] tawa antuwahheš*¹⁶).

In many respects the most interesting variant of all in this Old Hittite exemplar of laws 164-66 is the reading [x x x x] *me-e-a-ni* for the later copy’s MU.KAM-za *me-e-ḫu-ni*. According to the later copy, the entire sentence reads: “Until a year arrives at the time, he (the man who damaged the other man’s domestic cult) shall sustain (or: support) (the plaintiff) in his house.” The most likely interpretation of the first phrase is “until a year has elapsed” or “for the space of a year.” Now the newly identified Old Hittite version shows that the earlier text had *me-e-a-ni* instead of *me-e-ḫu-ni*. Furthermore, the Old Hittite copy may not have had the nominative *wizza* (or MU.KAM-za) preceding *mēani*. The word *meyani-*, *meyana-* (an earlier genitive *meyaniaš* and a later one *meyanaš* are known) or *mēni*—usually appears in conjunction with either the locative singular or genitive singular of the word “year,” that is, *witti meyaniyaš*, *witti meyani*, *wittaš meyanaš*, and so on.¹⁷

In the CHD article *meyani-*, *meyana-*, to appear in the forthcoming second fascicle of volume 3, we determined that the fundamental semantic component common to all occurrences and usages was “extent” or “course.” It is probable that in the Old Hittite copy the lines read: *kuitman witti mēani ari*, “until it arrives at a year, at (its) extent.” The expression was too “old-fashioned” for the New Hittite scribe of j, who rephrased it to *kuitman MU.KAM-za mēḫuni ari*. As it happens, there is at least one further clear instance in which a later scribe “modernized” *meyani/a-* to *meḫur*. The Old Hittite in Middle Script Kantuzzili text has *nu MU-ti mi-e-ni-ia-aš*

12. KBo 6 10 iii 19-20.

13. StBoT 9 85.

14. ArOr 5 19 and 25; cf. Friedrich Heth. Elem. § 298, 2.

15. Old Hittite in Old Script KBo 6 2 ii 35.

16. Old Hittite in New Script KBo 3 60 ii 14-15.

17. See Goetze, JCS 4 (1950) 223f. and Güterbock, RHA 25/81 (1967) 142ff.

armalaš maḥḥan, “Like a man who is sick throughout the year,¹⁸ while the New Hittite scribe copying the same phrase in the solar hymn rephrased it as: *nu MU!(text: UD).KAM-ti [me]-e-ḥu-ni-ia-aš [armalaš maḥḥan]*.¹⁹ His *[me]-e-ḥu-ni-ia-aš* was obviously an attempt to modernize to a form of *meḥur*, but the resulting mixed form fits neither word. One could read it as *[me]-e-<ḥu>-ni-ia-aš* or *[me]-e-ḥu-ni-<ia-aš>*. But although New Hittite scribes seem to have felt *meḥur* to be a clearer or more up-to-date term for extent of time than the older *meyani*-, there is evidence that in the newer *a*-stem form *meyana*- continued to be employed in New Hittite to express extent in a spatial sense: *nuššan irḥaš mi-ia-na-aš NU.GÁL ešta*, “There was no limit (or) extent (to the captives and livestock which the Hittite army brought home).”²⁰

18. KUB 30 10 rev. 15.

19. KUB 36 79a iii 18 + 31 132:11 + 31 127 iii 1 (Old Hittite/New Script).

20. KUB 19 37 (BoTU 60) ii 45 (ed. AM 170f.).



The Old Hittite Legal Idiom šuwaye- with the Allative

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Jul. - Oct., 1982, Vol. 102, No. 3
(Jul. - Oct., 1982), pp. 507-509

Published by: American Oriental Society

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/602303>

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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The Old Hittite Legal Idiom šuwaye- with the Allative

The current translations of KBo 3.1 ii 50ff. from the Old Hittite Telepinu Proclamation as “he (the king) risks his royal head” or “he (the king) gives security with the king’s head” cannot stand. The form of “head” is not ablative *ḫar-aš-ša-na-ṛa*¹ “with/by (the king’s head,” but allative *ḫar-aš-ša-na-ṛa*¹ “to the head.” *šuwāyezzi* with the allative *parna* is now securely interpreted in the laws as “looks to” in the sense of “has legal recourse to for purpose of redress.” The plene spelling of the *-a* ending in *ḫar-aš-ša-na-a* finds its best parallels in examples from Old Hittite texts or later copies of Old Hittite texts. The idiom itself is an old one in Hittite and finds pre-Old Hittite parallel in the usage of the verb *dagālum* “to look, to see” in the Old Assyrian tablets from Cappadocia. A similar usage of the Luwian verb *ma(m)manna-* with the dative-locative in New Hittite may have developed under the influence of the OH *šuwāye-* idiom.

In a forthcoming *Orientalia* article¹ H. G. Güterbock offers additional evidence to support the interpretation of the clause *parnašša šuwai(e)zzi* in the Hittite Laws as “He (the injured party) shall ‘look into’ (= have recourse to) the estate (of the offender) for it (the damages or compensation).” Following R. Haase,² Güterbock argues that the Hittite idiom is synonymous with a usage of the verb *dagālum* in the Old Assyrian commercial documents from Cappadocia. He suggests that the Assyrian idiom may have been derived from the Hittite in a pre-Old Hittite form, rather than vice versa.

F. Starke and F. Josephson have discussed the various spellings of the verbs *šuwai-* and *šuwāye-*, carefully distinguishing the examples by date.³ But to date no one has noticed that *šuwāye-* is construed with the allative in all examples of this legal idiom.

In this connection KBo 3.1 11 50–52, a passage from paragraph 31 of the Telepinu Proclamation, becomes relevant. Josephson⁴ has correctly observed that the verb *šū-wa-a-i-e-ez-zi* in line 51 exhibits the same spelling as the verb in the *parnašša šuwāyezzi* formula in Hittite Laws 13 and 19b, and that, since this passage also contains a technical legal expression, there “can be no doubt” that the verb is the same. Josephson did not claim that the spelling *šū-wa-a-i-e-ez-zi* of KBo 3.1 ii 51 and laws 13 and 19b is attested in Old Script. In fact, an examination of the two passages in the laws shows

that in law 13 the Old Script copy A is broken away, and in law 19a A has its customary *šū-wa-i-iz-zi*. It is the New Script copy B which has *šū-wa-a-i-e-ez-zi* in law 13 and is partially broken, but probably had the same spelling in law 19b. Since, therefore, KBo 3.1 also is Old Hittite in New Script, the verb in question was written *šū-wa-i-iz-zi* in Old Script and could be written *šū-wa-a-i-e-ez-zi* in New Script modernizations.

But there is still another vital similarity between KBo 3.1 ii 51 (Telepinu Proclamation) and the *parnašša šuwāyezzi* clauses in the laws. The verb in all cases is construed with the allative (noun case in *-a*). Josephson was kept from grasping the full significance of the Telepinu passage by a misreading of a crucial sign. In the earliest reading of the sign, published in 1918 as the first half (pages 1–40) of *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Heft II*, but based on a copy made a year or two previously, H. H. Figulla copied the fifth sign in KBo 3.1 ii 51 as *-a*, clearly distinguishing the trace in his copy from *-za*. Four years later, in *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* (1922), E. Forrer transliterated this sign as *-za* with hatching to indicate that the left half of the sign was damaged. Subsequent transliterations and translations of this line have employed Forrer’s preference without, however, adequate statement of reasons. Forrer himself did not even indicate that he was correcting Figulla. Now in the light of the *parnašša šuwāyezzi* clauses from the laws it would appear that Figulla’s was the better reading. One should read the passage from the Telepinu Proclamation as follows:

ku-iš ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*na* NIN.MEŠ-*na* iš-tar-*na* i-da-a-lu i-ia-*zi*
nu LUGAL-wa-aš (51) *ḫar-aš-ša-na-a* *šū-wa-a-i-e-ez-zi*
nu tu-li-ia-an ḫal-zi-iš-ten ma-a-na-pa ut-tar-še-ṛi pa-
 iz-zi (52) *nu* SAG.DU-na-az šar-ni-ik-du “Whatever
 (king) ‘does evil’ among (his) brothers and sisters, he
 (the one who claims redress) shall ‘look to’ (= have

¹ “Noch einmal die Formel *parnašša šuwāizzi*”, *Festschrift Kammenhuber* (forthcoming).

² *BiOr* 19 (1962) 118–122, and *WO* 11 (1980) 93–98.

³ F. Starke, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* Heft 23 (1977) 36f.; F. Josephson in E. Neu and W. Meid, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* (1979) 97f. with notes 50–55.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 98 and note 50.

recourse to) the person (lit. 'head') of the king (i.e., the offender in this case). Convoke the assembly! If/when his case goes against him,^{4a} let him make compensation from/with (his) person (lit. 'head')" [KBo 3.1 ii 50–52, transliterated as Forrer, BoTU 23A ii 50–52 and edited by Sturtevant and Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (1935) 190f. with comment on p. 199.]

This section of KBo 3.1 has no preserved duplicate. Sturtevant and Bechtel interpreted the clause as "gives security with the king's head",⁵ which assumes the correctness of Forrer's reading *har-aš-ša-na-zā* (ablative) and that the subject of the clause is the offender (i.e. the king). If, however, Figulla's reading *har-aš-ša-na-a* (allative) is correct, and the subject is the claimant, we have the same situation which Haase and Güterbock have posited for the *parnašše* *šuwai* clauses in the laws. There is no objection to the Figulla reading on the basis of its being a plene writing.

The plene writing of the ending⁶ is paralleled by *ki-iš-ra-a* KBo 8.42 rev. 4 (os), *ha-pa-a* KUB 13.3. iii 29, 32 (pre-NH/NS), *ha-aš-ša-a* KBo 17.36 i 4, ii 15 (os), *ta-ak-na-a* KBo 17.3 iii 8 (os), *ta-a-ak-n[a]-a* Hittite law 169, q4 iii 13 (os), *tāk-na-a* passim in NH as well as earlier texts. For the plene writing in the locative sg. in *-i* compare *ki-iš-ša-ri-i* StBoT 8 i 28, *har-ša-ni-i* KBo 3.28:17 (OH/NS), and *ma-ri-ia-ni-i* KBo 10.37 iii 21 (OH/NS).

har-aš-ša-na-a KBo 3.1 ii 51 should have been included by Kammenhuber⁷ among the *r/n* stem nouns with case forms in *-a*.

KBo 3.1 ii 50–52 shares a number of similarities with the *parnašše=a šuwai(e)zzi* passages in the laws. In the laws the clause which immediately precedes this formula always has a different grammatical subject from that implied in the formula, which is the party having the legal claim. In the

Telepinu Proclamation passage "He who (i.e., whatever king)⁸ does evil among his brothers and sisters" describes the offence, which is immediately followed by a clause whose subject is the claimant: "he shall have recourse to (lit., shall look to) the person (lit., 'head') of the king." Both the *p. š.* clauses in the laws and the Telepinu Proclamation passage combine the verb *šuwai* with the allative case.⁹ These similarities suggest strongly that we have before us the same legal idiom.

Güterbock has suggested that it may be a very old idiom in Hittite.¹⁰ The similarity to the Old Assyrian idiom with *dagālum* is indeed striking. One cannot say at present which language borrowed the idiom from the other. Hitherto attention has been focused upon the collocation *bītam... dagālum* in the Assyrian phrase, probably because of the Hittite analogue with *parnašše=a*. But the OAss examples in CAD D 22 also attest *šuhārtum*, *amtum*, *kaspum* and *būlātum* as objects of *dagālum* in this usage. The objects can therefore be house(hold), persons (in this case slaves), silver and livestock. One should not, therefore, be surprised to find another Hittite example in which the object is the person (lit. "head") of the king.

It is relevant to this employment of a phrase meaning literally "look to or at" in the extended meaning "have recourse to" or "accept in lieu of something else" to compare the usage of the Luwian verb *ma(m)manna-* with the plural dative-locative in KUB 24.12 ii 28–33 and iii 4–7. In these passages the infernal deities are beseeched to accept the *tarpalli*-substitutes and various valuable gifts and to return vital capacities of the sacrificer Tudhaliya, which the infernal deities had been holding. F. Starke and D. Hawkins (Kadmos 19:123–148, esp. 146) have identified the Luwian verbs *manā*- and *ma(m)manna-* together with their hieroglyphic representatives LITUUS-*na-* and LITUUS.LITUUS-*na-* as verbs of looking or seeing. *ma(m)manna-* takes its objects in the dative-locative case (*kēdāš tarpalliuš arkammi=ya*). The singular *arkammi=ya* shows the NH *-i* case, which replaced

^{4a} Cf. Carruba, Or NS 33 (1964) 421, "wenn seine Sache zutrifft (d.h. er für schuldig befunden wird)."

⁵ *Chrest.* (1935) 199. "Gives security" as a translation of *šuwai*- accords with Goetze's (ANET) "and he shall pledge his estate as security" for *parnašše(y)a šuwai(e)zzi* in the laws. But Haase, Güterbock and I understand the subject of *š.* in the laws to be the claimant, not the offender. And I would similarly understand it in the Telepinu Proclamation.

⁶ Plene forms of the allative (*-a*) and locative singular (*-i*) are not given separate mention or discussion by Kammenhuber in Neu and Meid, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* (1979) 126f.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ So correctly Sturtevant and Bechtel, *Chrest.* (1935) 191. Cf. ii 46: *ku-i-ša* LUGAL-uš.

⁹ The combination of *šuwai*- with an object in the allative does not assure that we are confronted with the legal idiom, for *nu ú-li-li-ia* ^{GIS}TIR-na *šu-ú-wa-ia* in KUB 29.1 i 52 (OH/NS rit.) is no legal idiom and can be translated "Look into the verdant forest", cf. translation of this passage by G. Kellerman, *Recherches sur les rituels de fondation hittites* (Diss. Paris, 1980) 27. It is simply that a singular noun designating the object looked at or into regularly occurs in the *-a* case with this verb. The legal idiom required this particular verb and the object (when singular) in the *-a* case.

¹⁰ Cf. note 1.

the OH and MH -a case in most instances. With the verb :*ma(m)anna-* we have no OS or MS example. So far as we know, it is a NH idiom. But since “look to these substitutes and tribute, (and let . . . come back up to the sacrificer)” seems to imply “look with favor upon (gifts)” or “accept (substitutes) in lieu of” here, the parallelism with *parnašša šuwai(e)zzi* and LUGAL-waš *harššanā šuwayezzi* is striking. For the claimant in the OH legal contexts looks upon the house of the offender or the head of the king as a source of reparations to be accepted in order to offset losses which he has incurred.

Once it has been recognized that KBo 3.1 ii 50ff. contains the same construction (*šuwaye-* plus the allative) as the *parnašša šuwayizzi* clauses in the laws, one can use the former to clarify the latter. In KBo 3.1 the *harššanā šuwaye-* clause entitles the claimant to make claims for redress against the person of the king. If the case goes against the king in court before the *pankuš*, the king must make com-

pensation (*šarnink-*) from/with his person (*harššanaz/SAG.DU-naz* ablative). If this same procedure were followed in the cases described in the laws, the *p. š.* formula marked those instances in which the claimant might make a claim on the ‘house’ (estate) of the offender. If the offender’s guilt has been duly established, he would have to make payment *parnaz* “from/with (his) house”. That is, he must pay the settlement out of that to which the claimant has been allowed recourse in the *parna/harššanā šuwaye-* clause. So that, although it is nowhere stated explicitly in the laws, the analogy would suggest that the liability of the party who must make redress might have been expressed *parnaz(še) šarnikdu*, just as in KBo 3.1 it was expressed *SAG.DU-naz šarnikdu*.

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A Prayer of Muršili II about His Stepmother

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Source: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Jan. - Mar., 1983, Vol. 103, No. 1, Studies in Literature from the Ancient Near East, by Members of the American Oriental Society, Dedicated to Samuel Noah Kramer (Jan. - Mar., 1983), pp. 187-192

Published by: American Oriental Society

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/601872>

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A PRAYER OF MURŠILI II ABOUT HIS STEPMOTHER¹

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KBo 4.8 IS LISTED WITHOUT JOIN OR DUPLICATE IN *CTH* 71. The measure of its importance as a testimony to matters political, religious and social in Hatti is indicated by the many important studies it has elicited, none of which, however, has constituted a full edition of the text.² The historical incident which forms the background to this prayer is the conflict between the widow of Šuppiluliuma, named Tawannanna, and the wife of King Muršili II. Most of the evidence for this incident can be found either in *KBo* 4.8 (*CTH* 71) or *KUB* 14.4 (*CTH* 70), which are prayers of Muršili. F. Cornelius once intended to fully edit these two texts, but a serious illness made this impossible. He could only prepare a partial edition in an article which he entitled "Ein hethitischer Hexenprozess."³ Meanwhile, using transliterations of unpublished Boğazköy fragments kindly made available to me by H. G. Güterbock, I was able to identify "Izmir 1277" as a join to the main text *KBo* 4.8.⁴ On the field transliteration of 1206/u (photocopy in the possession of Güterbock) Otten identified the fragment as a duplicate to *KBo* 4.8. On his copy of the transliteration of 245/w Güterbock wrote "Murs. gegen Taw.?" Subsequently I was able to join these two fragments in Ankara. Since the unpublished join "Izmir 1277" has shown, contrary to all expectation, that Muršili was authorized by the oracle to execute Tawannanna, it is important to publish a complete edition of *CTH*

71. I promised such an edition in *JCS* 29 (1977), 155 and now wish to fulfil that promise. Since the text shows a lofty style and is characterized by an eloquence not always found in Hittite prayers, I present it here to Professor Kramer, who more than anyone has contributed to our understanding and appreciation of ancient Sumerian literary texts.

Exemplar A, which is the principal copy, consists of *KBo* 4.8 + "Izmir 1277". The Izmir piece directly joins the upper right side of column II and the lower right side of column III. This requires assigning a new, cumulative line count to column II. But, because previous studies and citations of this text have used the *KBo* 4.8 line count, these line numbers have also been retained for column II in parentheses.

Exemplar B, consisting of 1206/u + 245/w, is only cited to provide the textual variants. All readings from B have been controlled from photos in the possession of Güterbock, who kindly allowed me the use of both photos and field transliterations.

My join 1206/u + 245/w was initially confirmed by Mr. Cem Karasu of the Ankara Museum. I was able subsequently to verify the join during personal visits to Ankara in 1981 and 1982. I would like to thank Mr. Karasu for his kind assistance.

Exemplar B is preserved only on the reverse. It duplicates A iii 5–18.

TRANSLITERATION

- 1 [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] x x x
 2 [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] x-kán ku-en-ta
 3 [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]-ma-mu ku-ri-pa-it
 4 [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] e¹-eš-ši-iš-ta
 (1) 5 [o o o o] x x x na-a[t-m]u² SAG.DU-aš hi-in-
 kán

TRANSLATION

[.] She killed [my wife] She bereaved(?) me. [. . .] She . . . -ed [. . .]. And was it a capital crime (lit. death of the person) [for m]e,

¹ Abbreviations peculiar to Hittitology employed in this article follow the *Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (abbrev. *CHD*) (Chicago, 1980).

² See the bibliography given in *CTH* 71 (p. 15).

³ *RIDA* 22 (1975), 27–45.

⁴ Details of the discovery and some points of information about the join piece's wording were given in *JCS* 29 (1977), 155f. with note 22.

- (2) 6 ^reš-*ta ma-a-na-aš Ū-UL* BA.ÚŠ *k[a-a-š]a-*
za DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU^{MEŠ}-IA
- (3) 7 [E]GIR-*pa pu-nu-uš-šu-un na-aš-mu ku-na-an-*
na SI×SÁ-at
- (4) 8 *kat-ta a-ša-an-na-ia-aš-mu* SI×SÁ-at *na-an-kán*
a-pí-ia-ia
- (5) 9 Ū-UL *ku-e-⟨nu-⟩un na-an-kán A-NA* ^{SAL}AMA.
DINGIR-LIM-UT-TIM
- (6) 10 *ar-ḥa ti-it-ta-nu-⟨nu-⟩un na-aš kat-ta a-ša-*
an-na ku-it SI×SÁ-at
- (7) 11 *na-an kat-ta a-ša-aš-ḥu-un nu-uš-ši É-er* AD-
DIN
- (8) 12 *nu-uš-ši-kán* ZI-ni Ū-UL *ku-it-ki wa-aq-qa-a-ri*
- (9) 13 NINDA-aš-ši *wa-a-tar nu ḥu-u-ma-an ša-ra-a*
ar-ta-ri
- (10) 14 Ū-UL-aš-ši-iš-ša-an *ku-it-ki wa-ag-ga-a-ri* TI-
an-za-aš
- (11) 15 ^dUTU ŠA-ME-E IGI.ḪI.A-it *uš-ki-iz-zi NINDA-*
an-na-az
- (12) 16 TI-an-na-aš *az-zi-ik-ki-iz-zi am-me-el ka-a-aš-*
pát
- (13) 17 *l-aš dam-me-eš-ḥa-aš ki-i-ia-an l-an dam-*
me-eš-ḥa-nu-⟨nu-⟩un
- (14) 18 IŠ-TU É.GAL-LIM-pát-kán *ku-it kat-ta u-i-ia-nu-*
un
- (15) 19 A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ-ia-an *AŠ-ŠUM* ^{SAL}AMA.DINGIR-
LIM-TIM *ar-ḥa ti-it-ta-nu-nu-un*
- (16) 20 *nu am-me-el ka-a-aš-pát l-aš dam-me-eš-ḥa-*
aš nu-za DINGIR.MEŠ
- (17) 21 *ki-i DI-NAM pí-ra-an kat-ta da-a-iš-ten na-at*
pu-nu-uš-ten
- (18) 22 *ki-nu-na a-pé-el* TI-tar *i-da-la-u-e-eš-ta* TI-an-
za *ku-it*
- (19) 23 *nu ne-pí-ša-aš* ^dUTU-un IGI.ḪI.A-it *uš-ki-iz-zi*
- (20) 24 TI-an-na-ša-za NINDA-an *az-zi-ik-ki-iz-zi nu*
am-me-el
- (21) 25 *dam-me-eš-ḥa-aš* ŠA DAM-IA *ḥi-in-kán* SIG₅-ia-
at-ta-at
- (22) 26 [k]u-en-ta-an-kán *ku-it nu-za-kán* TI-an-na-
aš UD.ḪI.A-uš

Col. III

- 1 [ZI-IA *da-an-k*]u-i *da-ga-an-zi-pí kat-ta-an-da*
- 2 [a-pád-da-še-er *pa-i*]š-ki-iz-zi *am-mu-uk-ma*
tal-wa-tal-la-it
- 3 [a-pa-a-aš-ma-m]u[?] *ku-ri-pa-aḥ-ta*⁵ nu DINGIR.
MEŠ Ū-UL
- 4 [še-ek-te-e-ni *k*]u-e-el-la-aš *dam-me-eš-ḥa-aš*

if she didn't die? Lo! I consulted the gods, my lords. And she (i.e., Tawannanna) was determined by oracle for me to execute. She was also determined by oracle for me for unseating/dethroning. But even then I did not execute her, but I deposed her from the office of *šiwanzanni*-priestess. And because she was determined by oracle for unseating/dethroning, I unseated/dethroned her, and I gave her a house (or: estate). Nothing is lacking to her desire. She has food and drink (lit. bread and water). Everything stands at (her) disposal. Nothing is lacking to her. She is alive. She beholds the sun of heaven with her eyes. And she eats bread as one of life (or: eats the bread of life). Mine is only this one punishment: I punished her with this one thing, that I sent her down from the palace; I deposed her from the gods in the office of *šiwanzanni*-priestess. Mine is only this one punishment. O gods, set this case down before yourselves and investigate it! Has her life now become miserable? Because she is alive, she beholds the sun of heaven with her eyes. As one of life she eats bread (or: She eats the bread of life). My punishment is the death of my wife. Has this gotten any better? Because she killed her, throughout the days of life [my soul] goes down to the dark netherworld [on her account]. For me it has been unbearable(?). She has bereaved(?) me. Don't you gods [recognize] whose is the punishment?

⁵ Cf. ii 3 *ku-ri-pa-it*.

- 5 [o o o o -⁶š(a-m)]a-aš-ša-an A-NA SALAMA.
DINGIR-LIM-UT-TI ku-it
- 6 [o o o ar-ḫa t(i-it-t)]a-nu-nu-un am-mu-ug-ga⁷
A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ
- 7 [EN.MEŠ-IA SISKUR.SISKU(R.ḪI.A E)]GIR-an ar-
ḫa-ḫa-ri nu-za DINGIR.MEŠ e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫi
- 8 [nam-ma²-ma A-N(A DINGIR.MEŠ AŠ)-]ŠUM
SALAMA.DINGIR-LIM-TIM le-e
- 9 [ti-it-ta-nu-ut-te(-ni kap-p)]u-u-wa-at-te-ni-ia-
an-za-an le-e
- 10 [ku-it-ki nu k(a-a-aš-m)]a u-wa-aš-šu-ú-ra-ia⁸
ku-it Ū-UL
- 11 [o o o o o (-ia²-an-za)] e-eš-ta ku-it-ma-na-aš
SALLUGAL e-eš-ta
- 12 [na-aš DAM-IA ḫur-za-k(i-i)]t na-an-kán ku-en-
ta
- 13 [na-an-ša-ma-aš⁹ ku-(w)]a-pí AŠ-ŠUM SALAMA.
DINGIR-LIM-TIM ar-ḫa
- 14 [o o o ti-it-ta-nu-nu-un n]a-an te-ep-nu-nu-un
- 15 [SAL.LUGAL-an-kán iŠ-TU É.G]AL-LIM kat-ta u-
i-ia-nu-un na-aš ki-nu-un
- 16 [L^USANGA-KU-NU Ṛ-KU-N]U Ū-UL ḫur-za-ki-
iz-zi
- 17 [o o o o o o o]x ku-wa-at-qa na-an ka-ru-ú
- 18 [o o o o ku-it iš-ta]-ma-aš-ten nu ki-nu-un-ma
DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-IA
- 19 [o o o o o -KU-N]U QA-TAM-MA nu ḪUL-aš
me-mi-an
- 20 [o o o o o o o]n u ka-a-ša am-mu-uk^m Mur-ši-
li-iš
- 21 [LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR URU ḪA-AT-TI] pí-ra-
an wa-aḫ-nu-nu-un
- 22 [nu-uš-ma-aš ku-e-da-ni me-mi-ni ḫu²-d]a¹-ak
ar¹-wa-nu-un
- 23 [nu-mu iš-ta-ma-na-an pa-ra-a e-ep-ten nu-mu
i]š-ta-ma-aš-[t]en⁹
- 24 [] ḫur-za-ki-iz-zi
- 25 []-an-na ku-it-ki
- 26 []-N]A É-IA
- 27 []-at-te-ni
-
- 28 [] DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU^{MEŠ}-IA
- 29 [ḪUL-wa-aš ud-da-a-a]r ku-it
- 30 [iš-ta-ma-aš-ten]x

(Breaks off entirely)

Now because I [depo]sed [the queen] from the office of *šiwanzanni*-priestess to you (plural), I will provide for the [offer]ings of the gods and I will regularly worship the gods. Don't [re-inst]all [her] in the office of *šiwanzanni*-priestess for the gods! Don't [take] her [into ac]count! Because she was not . . . -ed for *uwaššuraya*, while she was queen, she kept [curs]ing [my wife] until she had killed her. When I had de[posed her] from the office of *šiwanzanni*-priestess [to the gods], I curtailed her power. I sent [the queen] down [from] the palace. And now does she not continue to curse [your priest and yo]ur [servant]? [. . . .] somehow. [Be-cause] you (plural) listened to her once before, is your [will(?) . . .] the same, O gods, my lords? The word of evil [will you hear?] Lo, I Muršili, [the Great King, King of Hatti Land] have come forward. [In what matter] I have [prompt]ly(?) presented myself [to you,] [hold forth your ear to me and] hear [me]! She is cursing [.] something [.] in(?) my house. Do[n't]!

[.], O gods, my lords! Because [you have heard the word]s [of evil]

⁶ Restore perhaps [SAL.LUGAL-an-na-š(a-m)]a-.

⁷ B 3: *am-mu-ug-ga*.

⁸ B 4: *ú-wa-aš-šu-ra-ia*.

⁹ Here the Izmir fragment joins with -t]en in its first line. The following lines are entirely from the Izmir fragment.

COMMENTS

II 3 *kuripait* is probably synonymous with *kuripahta* (III 3). The translation assumes some connection with *kurimma* "lonely, orphaned, bereaved." Cf. Hoffner, *JCS* 29:155.

II 5 For the construction *natmu* SAG.DU-*aš* *hinkan* compare *natši mán* SAG.DU-*aš* *hinkan* *KBo* 18.142:5–6. The question contains irony. Why should Muršili be held guilty of such a grave offence? He didn't take her life, even though he had oracular authorization.

II 6 Against a reading IN[IM-*n*] *a-za* (i.e., *memiyanaza*) is the need of the particle *-za* in this construction (*appa punuš-*: *nu*=[*z*] *a* *pankun* EGIR-*pa* *punuški* *KUB* 1.16 iii 61 (*HAB*), cf. *ibid.* iii 70, *ugat*=*za* *appa* ^{SAL}ENSI-*ta* *natta kuššanka punuššun* *KUB* 30.10 rev. 21, *appa punuš-* occasionally occurs without *-za* where the sentence enclitics at the head of the clause are preserved (*KBo* 13.72 obv. 12, *KUB* 36.55 ii 30), but in these cases the meaning seems to be different from "to consult (someone)." In [. . . LÚ].É.DINGIR LIM=*ya*=*šmaš* EGIR-*pa* *punuš*[*š*] *šanzi* (*KBo* 13.72 rev. 3) the =*šmaš* with a third person plural verb is the functional equivalent of *-za*.

II 7 The absence of *ú-UL* on the join piece is contrary to all expectation expressed in earlier restorations. The theory that Muršili was refused permission to execute his step-mother has been accepted by everyone, including those who have commented on the matter most recently: Ünal, *TH* 3 ('74) 40, Cornelius, *RIDA* 22 (1975), 41 and Archi, *Florilegium Anatolicum*, 1979, 39, note 13. Archi translates without indicating the free restoration, "et il fut décidé pour moi de ne pas la tuer mais de l'exiler." As I pointed out in brief remarks in *JCS* 29 (1977), 155 note 22, the new join casts an entirely different light on this incident. Muršili chose to spare her life, although he had a divine permission to take it. This permission, once obtained, gave him a card which he could play any time he chose. There was no time limit on the gods' authorization. His temporary restraint in the matter was politically wise and earned for him propaganda points with the public.

II 8 *katta ašanna* and *katta ašašun* (II 11) see Kammenhuber, *MIO* 2:249 and Friedrich, *Heth. Elementarbuch*² paragr. 276c. On the meaning and translation of *katta ašeš* here see discussion below. *apiya*=*ya* "even then," i.e., in spite of the permission granted.

II 9 The proper preterite 1 sg. of *kuen-* is *kuenun*, as amply attested (*ku-e-nu-un*, *KUB* 23.21 rev. 30, Hatt. II 40), especially often in the texts of Muršili II (*KBo* 2.5 ii 11, *KBo* 3.4 i 40, *KBo* 14.20 + 4, *KUB* 14.16 ii 19, *KUB* 19.39 ii 6, etc.). It seems unnecessarily cautious, therefore, on the basis of this single example of *ku-e-nu-nu-un* in a text whose scribe repeatedly shows confusion about whether or not to write consecutive *-nu-* signs (cf. II 10 and 17) to seriously propose an alternative form *kuenunun* (Friedrich, *HW*, 113).

II 12 In this construction *-šan* and *-kan* are interchangeable, cf. II 14.

II 14ff. (cf. II 22ff.) *ti-anza=aš* "she is alive" is made more explicit in II 22 *ti-anza kuit* "because she is alive, (she enjoys all these benefits which my dead wife does not)."

II 15 The writing *-az* for the particle *-za* is unusual in New Hittite.

II 15-16 To take the following *ti-annaš* as dependent on *NINDA-an* ("bread of life"), is difficult although possible in view of *ti-annaš=a=za* *NINDA-an* in II 24. An alternative interpretation would be *ti-annaš* "one of life" (allowed to live a full and normal life span), cf. Hatt. I 15, *KBo* 4.14 iii 9. The expression "bread of life" occurs nowhere else in Hittite.

II 17 Note the change of gender from *kaš dammešhaš* to *ki* "this (one) thing." It is possible with Friedrich, *HW*, to posit on the basis of the hapax *dammešhanun* a *nu*-causative verb from the verb *dammešhai-*, virtually synonymous with the latter. But in view of our scribe's problems with dittography and haplography of *-nu-* (cf. II 9–10) this may be only dittography for *dammešhanun*. The verb governs two objects in the accusative, *ki* . . . *1-an* "this one thing" and *=an* "her." Cf. Sommer, *AU* 164.

II 22 *ti-anza kuit* "because she (i.e., the Tawannanna) is alive (although deposed)" stands in contrast to *kuenta=an kuit* "because she (i.e., the Tawannanna) killed her (Muršili's wife)" in II 26.

II 26 UD.ḪI.A-*uš* is formally acc. pl. "Throughout the days of life" could be acc. of duration.

III 1–2 On this restoration and the similar phrase in *KBo* 13.62 obv. 10–11 which prompted it, compare Hoffner, *JCS* 29 (1977), 155. In a letter dated January 29, 1979, Professor Jonas Greenfield of Jerusalem called my attention to parallels in Ugaritic (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, text 67, col. VI, 24–25: *ʔaṛ b ʔl ʔard b ʔarš*) and Hebrew (Genesis 37:35). The Genesis passage is particularly interesting. "Surely I will go down to Sheol in mourning for my son." The Hittite clarifies its interpretation, showing that the going down weeping to Sheol was not something anticipated at the end of Jacob's life, but his anticipated daily experience for the rest of his life.

III 2 The hapax verb *talwatallait* probably has an impersonal subject: "It has become . . . to me."

III 3 For the restoration compare II 3.

III 10 *uwaššuraya* only occurs here in the main text and the duplicate.

III 12 The translation "kept cursing my wife until she had killed her" is based on the sequence of *-ške-* verb followed by the non-*-ške-* verb. Compare Telepinu Proclamation I 7: *nu une ḫarninkiškit nu une arḫa tarranut* "He kept devastating the lands until he had worn the lands out."

III 14 For *tepnu-* "to curtail power, demote" (without *-za*), versus "to belittle (verbally)" (with *-za*), see Hoffner, *JCS* 29 (1977), 152–4.

III 16 Restore either $\text{IR-KU-N}]U$ or $\text{LU-SANGA-KU-N}]U$ on the basis of Muršili II Plague Prayers *KUB* 14.14 + 19.1 obv. 6, rev. 37, *KUB* 14.10 i 3.

III 21 *piran wahnu-* is usually intransitive. What is expected therefore in the lacuna following *ammuk* ^m*Muršiliš* is a series of titles or epithets. The string proposed here is attested as applied by Muršili II to himself. Cf. H. Gonnet, *Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain*, 15 (Hethitica III), p. 50 number 86a. Strike *KBo* IV 8 iii 20 therefore under the number 82a on page 48.

III 22–23 Restorations based on Fourth Plague Prayer of Muršili II, *KUB* 14.13 i 17–20.

The general significance of this prayer has been understood for quite some time.¹⁰ Muršili II, who in the companion text *CTH* 70 complains of specific abuses of power by his stepmother, the Tawannanna, here seeks to defend himself against charges by her that he has sinned against the gods by removing her from her position as *šiwanzanni*-priestess. It was Tawannanna who was first hostile. Repeatedly she asked the gods to take the life of Muršili's wife. Eventually, she succeeded: Muršili's wife died. It was then that Muršili sought the advice of the gods through oracle. This oracle authorized him either to execute Tawannanna or to dethrone her.

Although both options were therefore open to him, in mercy he chose the second option. He furthermore provided her with all amenities befitting her high social position, so that she lacked nothing she might wish for. Vividly he contrasts her condition with that of his deceased wife whom she had killed. This contrast takes on added meaning, now that we know from the join piece that Muršili was authorized to put the Tawannanna to death. Why should she complain of being demoted, when she could have been dead like Muršili's wife? Furthermore, the king contrasts the Tawannanna's present state with his own, as a bereaved husband. He reminds the gods that she made him a widower (*kuripait* II 3, *kuripahta* III 3). And in one of the most moving lines of the entire prayer (II 26, III 1–2) he describes his daily agony of bereavement in terms of a series of daily trips to the dark netherworld.

The Tawannanna's complaint against him may also have included the accusation that by his removing her from her office as *šiwanzanni*-priestess he brought about a diminution of the sacrifices and festivals for the gods. It has already been observed by others that the *šiwanzanni*-priestess was not a high position.¹¹ Each local sanctuary had at least one of them. Considerations of this kind have even led some to translate "I ousted her and made her Siwanzanna-priestess,"¹² but the syntax will not allow this translation.¹³ What suggests that the Tawannanna's *šiwanzanni*-priestessship was something much more exalted is the statement (II 19, III 8) that she had been *šiwanzanni*-priestess "for the gods" (ANA DINGIR.MEŠ), i.e., for all the gods, not just for one temple.¹⁴ Therefore, although our text does not explicitly call her "chief *šiwanzanni*-priestess," something very much like this must have obtained. This office, with its powers of allocating sacrifices, votive offerings, perhaps even temple lands, allowed her considerable control over the assests of the state cult.¹⁵ Doubtless it was for this reason that Muršili could describe her abuses of power in terms which suggest the depletion of the material resources of the royal house in order to bestow goods on her favorites: "Do you gods not see how she has turned the entire house of my father (Šuppiluliuma I) into the 'stone house' (mausoleum) of the god LAMMA (and) the 'stone house' of the god? Some things she brought in from the land of Šanhara. Others in Hatti [. . .] to the populace she handed over(?). She left nothing. . . . And even that which was not done/made, she handed over to you. My father's house she destroyed." (*KUB* 14.4 ii 3–12) To protect the resources of king and gods, therefore, Muršili removed her from this office which allowed her to dispose of revenues. To counter her claim that this would reduce offerings and services for the gods he points out (III 5–10, 21) that, because he had personally assumed control (*piran wahnu-*), he would exercise supervision (EGIR-an *arḫaḫari*) of the rites and ceremonies and offerings made to the gods. Thus he urges the gods not to direct that on this ground the Tawannanna be reinstalled in office (III 8–9). He notes that, now that her earlier cursing has brought death to his wife, she has turned her attention

¹⁰ The general bibliography is: E. Forrer, *Forschungen* II (1929), If.; E. Laroche & H. G. Güterbock in *Ugaritica* III (1956), 101f.; A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens* (2nd ed., 1957), 93 note 2; S. R. Bin-Nun, *The Tawannanna in the Hittite Kingdom* (= Text der Hethiter, 5, 1975), 185ff.; F. Cornelius, *RIDA* 22 (1975), 27–45.

¹¹ Bin-Nun, *TH* 5, 191ff.

¹² Houwink ten Cate, *Numen* 16 (1969), 93; cf. Bin-Nun, *TH* 5, 189, who almost adopted this translation.

¹³ Cf. Ünal, *TH* 3 (1974), 40 note 21.

¹⁴ Bin-Nun, 190 note 126; 193.

¹⁵ Bin-Nun, 186–9.

to him, and is now cursing (thus, threatening with death) "[your priest, y]our [servant]" (III 15–16).¹⁶

Various translations have been employed for the verbs in this text which describe Muršili's actions against the Tawannanna. I shall summarize them here and indicate my own preferences. The verbs in question are *katta ašeš-* (II 11) and its infinitive *katta ašanna* (II 8, 10), *dammešha(nu?)*- (II 17), *katta uiya-* (II 18, III 15), *arḥa tittanu-* (II 10, 19, III 13–14), *tepnu-* (without *-za*, III 14). There is little disagreement among those who have treated this passage regarding the translation of *dammešha(nu?)*- and *katta uiyu-*. The former indicates punishment,¹⁷ and the latter expresses the removal of the queen from the scene of the royal power on the acropolis ("I sent her down from the palace").¹⁸ For *tepnu-* Friedrich's glossary¹⁹ gave the translations "gering machen, verringern; —demütigen," which includes 1) verbal humiliation, and 2) real diminution of power. In 1977²⁰ I demonstrated that meaning 1 is regularly indicated by the presence of the particle *-za*. Without *-za*, as in this text, the word always denotes a real curtailment of power of privilege, not just harsh words. *arḥa tittanu-* and its constructions were studied by A. Ünal in 1974.²¹ He translated the verb in the construction found in *KBo* 4.8 as "j-en j-em von einer Stellung absetzen." The following chart gives an idea of the various translations proposed for *katta ašeš-* and *arḥa tittanu-*.

1930 Götze ²²	<i>katta ašeš-</i> absetzen	<i>arḥa tittanu-</i>
1952 HWb	niedersetzen; verbannen(?)	heruntersetzen
1969 Houwink ten Cate ²³	confine	oust
1974 Ünal ²⁴	verbannen	absetzen
1975 Cornelius ²⁵	absetzen, verbannen	absetzen
1975 Bin Nun ²⁶	depose	depose

It can be noted that Friedrich, Cornelius and Bin-Nun see relatively little difference in meaning between the two verbs. Friedrich, Ünal and Cornelius see the notion of banishment in *katta ašeš-*, while Bin-Nun finds that aspect expressed in *katta uiya-*. Houwink ten Cate alone translates *katta ašeš-* as "to confine." Although I too see minimal difference between *katta ašeš-* and *arḥa tittanu-*, it seems to me that *katta ašeš-* forms the antonym of *ašeš-*, just as *arḥa tittanu-* forms that of *anda tittanu-*. I would be inclined therefore to translate the first pair as "dethrone, unseat" and "enthronement, seat," and the second as "depose" and "install." That the Tawannanna was in fact put under a kind of house arrest or internment seems clear, but I do not see how *katta ašeš-* can be the term to express such a procedure, nor do I find any good reason to suppose with Friedrich (*HW* 35) that *katta ašeš-* is synonymous with *kattan ašeš-* (twice, *KUB* 10.54 v 18 and *KBo* 16.99 vi? 10, both in broken contexts). If it be insisted that *katta* should here mean "down," I would prefer to say that it means to make someone take a lower seat.

¹⁶ Bin-Nun, 186.

¹⁷ Goetze, *Hatt.* (1925), 63, Friedrich, *HW* (1952), 208.

¹⁸ Bin-Nun, *TH* 5, 189 "banished."

¹⁹ Friedrich, *HW* 221.

²⁰ *JCS* 29 (1977), 152–4.

²¹ *TH* 3 (1974), 40.

²² *Neue Bruchstücke zum grossen Text des Hattušilis*, 30.

²³ *Numen* 16, 93.

²⁴ *TH* 3, 40f.

²⁵ *RIDA* 22, 27–45.

²⁶ *TH* 5, 185ff.

Hittite Fragments in American Collections

Author(s): Gary Beckman and Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Spring, 1985, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Spring, 1985), pp. 1-60

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.com/stable/1359958>

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HITTITE FRAGMENTS IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

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and

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The majority of the copies presented here are Beckman's work. Nos. 1 and 6, however, were made by Hoffner, and Nos. 49, 56, and 72 by H. G. Güterbock. Beckman discovered Nos. 7, 8, 19, 41, 58, and 85 in the Yale Babylonian Collection among the papers of the late Professor Albrecht Goetze. He collated and slightly corrected these copies, with the exception of Nos. 8 and 85, both of which Goetze studied in the 1940's. The former fragment, according to Goetze's correspondence with Professor I. Mendelsohn the property of the Columbia University Library, is no longer to be found in the collections of that university. The latter piece, once in the possession of a California private collector, has disappeared.

Hoffner has checked most of the copies. He also made the majority of the identifications which form the basis of the catalogue. But in its final form the catalogue represents the joint efforts of the editors. They were assisted in the preliminary study of these fragments by the entire team of the Hittite Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, particularly by Dr. Howard Berman.

We wish to thank Professor W. W. Hallo of the Yale Babylonian Collection and Professor John A. Brinkman of the Oriental Institute for permission to publish pieces in their care. Mr. Kenneth Lohf, Librarian for Rare Books and Manuscripts of Columbia University, and Drs. James E. Goehring and Tova Meltzer of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity of the Claremont Graduate School were extremely helpful in the unsuccessful search for the fragments mentioned earlier. Finally, acknowledgment should be made to Dr. Elizabeth Jewell, who first called our attention to the Yale Hittite material.

CATALOGUE

Unless otherwise noted all identifications given here are Hoffner's.

I. *Historical Fragments*

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|-----------|--|
| 1. | NBC 11801 | 3.6 × 3.9 | CTH 68.F; +KUB 19.51 (Kup. §§3-4); Hoffner join and copy. |
| 2. | NBC 11870 | 1.6 × 3.4 | CTH 3; previously in private collection and published as KBo 26.126. |
| 3. | Or Inst 1982.5.2 | 6.7 × 1.7 | Treaty or instruction? |

II. *Legal Fragments*

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------|---|
| 4. | NBC 11803 | 3.0 × 3.1 | CTH 292; Hittite Laws §§163-64; (+) KBo 6.18?. |
| 5. | NBC 11816 | 1.9 × 2.3 | CTH 292; Hittite Laws §§145-46; +KBo 6.10? |
| 6. | YBC 16149 | 5.6 × 4.4 | CTH 294.1; +KUB 40.88; cf. StBoT 4 22f.; Hoffner join and copy. |
| 7. | NBC 3846 | 5.4 × 5.1 | Instructions?; Goetze copy; for ^m Taškuili, see Laroche NH No. 1296. |

III. *Inventory Fragments*

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|-----------|---|
| 8. | "Columbia University Library" | 5.8 × 4.1 | CTH 242; +KUB 42.81?; Goetze copy; cf. CHD 3/1 sub <i>malwiš</i> . |
| 9. | NBC 11796 | 3.7 × 3.8 | To <i>ŠI-IḪ-PU</i> KÜ.GI in line 3, cf. KUB 42.69 passim, and see Güterbock FsOttén 79. |
| 10. | A 6728 | 4.0 × 4.3 | mentions [^m Ḫal]pašulupi in line 9. |

IV. *Vocabulary Fragment*

- | | | | |
|-----|--------|------------------|---|
| 11. | A 6735 | 1.6×2.0 | Parallels KBo 26.44; possibly syllabic Sumerian column of izi or <i>ká.gal</i> ?; Güterbock identification. |
|-----|--------|------------------|---|

V. *Mythological Fragment*

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|------------------|----------|
| 12. | A 12232 | 7.8×5.7 | CTH 364. |
|-----|---------|------------------|----------|

VI. *Ritual Fragments*

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|------------------|--|
| 13. | NBC 11786 | 3.5×1.5 | CTH 413?; dupl. KBo 22.142 iv 9ff. |
| 14. | A 6723 | 4.9×6.7 | CTH 450; first nine lines of obverse closely parallel KUB 30.19+ i 1ff.; cf. Otten, HTR 32f. |
| 15. | NBC 3945 | 4.5×3.3 | CTH 458.2.B; dupl. KUB 17.28 ii 32-41; Goetze identification. |
| 16. | NBC 8900 | 4.5×4.5 | Note in line 6: [URU.A] <i>r-zi-wa-il</i> (over erasure), "in Arzawan (i.e., Luwian?)." |
| 17. | NBC 11795 | 3.3×3.4 | Medical; note <i>k]i-i wa-aš-ši</i> in line 2. |
| 18. | NBC 1879 | 5.5×4.2 | Cf. CTH 760; lines 5-8 dupl. KUB 35.44 rev. 2-5. |
| 19. | NBC 3991 | 3.6×2.2 | Goetze copy. |
| 20. | NBC 11798 | 1.9×2.2 | |
| 21. | NBC 11808 | 1.2×2.1 | |
| 22. | NBC 11811 | 1.8×2.3 | Cf. CTH 448.4.B. |
| 23. | NBC 11827 | 2.7×2.9 | Par. KUB 9.34 iii 21ff. |
| 24. | NBC 11833 | 1.2×3.1 | |
| 25. | NBC 11844 | 2.9×1.9 | |
| 26. | Or Inst 1984.4 | 2.2×4.3 | |

VI.A. *Probable Ritual Fragments*

- | | | | |
|-----|--------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| 27. | A 6726 | 5.4×3.4 | [Corr.: rather a letter or treaty] |
|-----|--------|------------------|------------------------------------|

28.	NBC 11779	3.7 × 3.1	
29.	NBC 11782	2.3 × 3.9	
30.	NBC 11788	2.3 × 2.1	
31.	NBC 11789	2.5 × 1.2	
32.	NBC 11814	1.8 × 2.5	
33.	NBC 11815	2.0 × 1.2	Cf. KUB 43.55 ii 7ff.
34.	NBC 11839	3.5 × 3.6	
35.	NBC 11854	4.8 × 2.8	
36.	YBC 16197	4.1 × 3.9	CTH 760.I.2; parallel or duplicate to KUB 9.4 iii 1-12 and KUB 9.34 iii 39-47.
37.	NBC 3948	2.8 × 4.4	
38.	NBC 11802	2.8 × 2.6	
39.	NBC 11832	2.3 × 2.6	

VII. *Festival Fragments*

40.	A 11176	10.2 × 4.9	CTH 655; (+)KBo 3.63?
41.	NCBT 2283	3.7 × 4.9	CTH 628.II.B; dupl. KUB 12.12 v 2-5; Goetze copy.
42.	NBC 3844	7.4 × 6.5	Cf. CTH 750.6.
43.	NBC 3947	2.8 × 2.9	CTH 744.6.
44.	NBC 11785	2.5 × 2.5	CTH 670; parallel KBo 25.88:5-8.
45.	NBC 11791	2.8 × 3.0	
46.	NBC 11792	3.5 × 2.3	
47.	NBC 11793	4.3 × 2.9	Cf. CTH 701.1.
48.	NBC 11823	2.7 × 2.8	
49.	Spencer 768		See A. Sayce, JRAS 1907 913ff., and Güterbock, <i>Studies Mellink</i> ; Güterbock copy.
50.	NBC 11825	1.3 × 2.8	CTH 631; dupl. KUB 34.120:2-7.
51.	YBC 16189	5.0 × 4.6	Cf. CTH 604.B.
52.	YBC 16201	6.6 × 5.9	CTH 670; cf. KUB 25.7 i 1-2.
53.	A 12234	5.8 × 7.3	colophon with names [^m Piḫa-UR.M]AḪ, [^m Palluwara]- LÚ, [^m N]U.GIŠ.SAR; cf. Mascheroni, <i>Hethitica</i> 5 95-109.

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|-----|-----------|------------------|--|
| 54. | YBC 16812 | 8.0×8.7 | CTH 641; +KBo 29.213; published in transliteration by Güterbock, <i>Florilegium Anatolicum</i> (Studies Laroche) pp. 138-42. |
| 55. | YBC 16195 | 4.6×4.4 | CTH 628.II.a? |

VII.A. *Probable Festival Fragments*

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|------------------|--|
| 56. | NBC 11869 | 3.1×2.9 | Güterbock copy. |
| 57. | A 6725 | 5.1×5.0 | |
| 58. | NBC 1640 | 4.4×3.1 | Goetze copy. |
| 59. | NBC 11777 | 3.5×4.2 | Cf. KBo 22.222 iii 2ff. and KBo 23.89 i 5. |
| 60. | NBC 11778 | 3.5×2.9 | Cf. CTH 648. |
| 61. | NBC 11797 | 4.3×1.3 | |
| 62. | NBC 11804 | 2.5×1.3 | Cf. KUB 25.32+ i 14. |
| 63. | NBC 11810 | 2.9×2.9 | Cf. KBo 11.1 obv. 10. |
| 64. | NBC 11813 | 1.8×1.6 | |
| 65. | NBC 11817 | 1.2×2.3 | Cf. KBo 26.152 rev. 1-3? |
| 66. | NBC 11821 | 2.8×2.3 | |
| 67. | NBC 11829 | 1.2×1.2 | Cf. CTH 701. |
| 68. | NBC 11831 | 1.9×2.4 | Cf. KBo 25.14 ii 4ff. |
| 69. | NBC 11843 | 2.8×1.9 | |
| 70. | NBC 11847 | 1.7×2.2 | |
| 71. | NBC 11849 | 2.7×3.1 | |

VIII. *Oracle Fragments* (most of these identified by Berman)

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|-----|-----------|------------------|--|
| 72. | NBC 11868 | 4.5×4.3 | Güterbock copy; obverse bird oracles; reverse similar to KUB 48.107 and 110 (CTH 375.1); cf. Lebrun Hymnes 140-42 and von Schuler Kaškäer 162. |
| 73. | NBC 4080 | 6.0×6.4 | Cf. KUB 6.1, 6.2; SU. |
| 74. | NBC 11780 | 3.5×2.5 | MUŠEN.ĤURRI. |
| 75. | YBC 16203 | 6.1×6.8 | CTH 580; MUŠEN, KIN. |
| 76. | A 12233 | 7.4×4.2 | MUŠEN. |
| 77. | NBC 11787 | 2.0×2.0 | Type uncertain. |

78.	NBC 11790	2.2×3.3	SU?
79.	NBC 11806	2.0×2.6	Type uncertain.
80.	YBC 16184	3.5×3.3	KIN.
81.	A 6729	4.4×2.8	KIN.
82.	A 6727	4.3×4.7	MUŠEN?
83.	Or Inst 1982.5.3	6.6×3.8	Type uncertain.

IX. *Omen Fragment*

84.	NBC 1641	3.9×6.0	CTH 535; cf. KUB 8.28 and 7/w (reference courtesy Güterbock).
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X. *Hurrian Fragments*

85.		8.0×6.5	Piece in private collection copied by Goetze in 1942; present location unknown.
86.	NBC 11799	4.7×2.7	
87.	NBC 3946	5.2×3.1	
88.	NBC 11781	1.3×2.4	
89.	NBC 11800	2.6×1.9	
90.	NBC 11807	2.8×2.5	Or Hattic?
91.	A 6727	4.0×5.3	

XI. *Hattic Fragments*

92.	NBC 11794	3.5×4.4
93.	NBC 11805	3.1×2.4
94.	NBC 11824	4.4×3.9

XII. *Unidentified Fragments*

95.	NBC 1651	3.5×6.5	
96.	NBC 11783	3.8×2.2	
97.	NBC 11784	2.9×3.5	
98.	NBC 11809	2.3×2.9	
99.	NBC 11812	3.4×3.5	Probably oath or treaty.
100.	NBC 11818	1.8×2.6	
101.	NBC 11819	1.0×3.1	

102.	NBC 11820	1.7×3.3
103.	NBC 11822	1.2×1.1
104.	NBC 11826	1.8×3.4
105.	NBC 11828	2.2×2.3
106.	NBC 11830	2.1×2.1
107.	NBC 11834	2.9×1.7
108.	NBC 11836	2.1×4.3
109.	NBC 11837	2.1×1.1
110.	NBC 11838	3.0×4.1
111.	NBC 11841	4.1×4.9
112.	NBC 11842	3.3×2.8
113.	NBC 11845	4.3×4.2
114.	NBC 11846	3.8×3.0
115.	NBC 11848	1.9×2.6
116.	NBC 11850	2.8×3.8
117.	NBC 11851	3.7×2.1
118.	NBC 11852	2.5×1.7
119.	NBC 11853	2.2×1.5
120.	NBC 11855	2.1×2.3
121.	NBC 11856	1.9×2.4
122.	NBC 11857	1.3×3.6
123.	NBC 11858	2.1×0.4
124.	NBC 11859	2.1×2.3
125.	NBC 11862	1.9×1.5
126.	NBC 11863	2.3×1.2
127.	NBC 11864	2.7×1.4
128.	NCBT 2299	4.0×3.9
129.	NBC 11871	1.8×2.8
130.	NBC 11872	2.7×2.1
131.	A 6730	2.8×2.7
132.	A 6732	3.2×3.5
133.	A 6733	3.6×2.5
134.	A 6734	2.5×2.7
135.	A 6736	1.9×2.6
136.	A 6737	1.8×2.3
137.	A 6738	1.9×2.2

Cf. KBo 17.43 i 11.

CONCORDANCES

I. MUSEUM AND COLLECTION NUMBERS

For the convenience of the reader we have included here references to all publications of Hittite texts from the relevant collections, most importantly to Albrecht Götze's *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte* (Marburg, 1930) (VBoT). See also the Concordance to VBoT Numbers (p. 11) and Collations to Texts Published Previously (pp. 14ff.), below.

"Columbia University Library"

unnumbered — No. 8

Field Museum

unnumbered — VBoT 26

Grinnell College

Spencer 768 — No. 49

Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets

NCBT 2283 — No. 41

NCBT 2299 — No. 128

Nies Babylonian Collection

NBC 1640 — No. 58

NBC 1641 — No. 84

NBC 1648 — VBoT 15

NBC 1650 — VBoT 21

NBC 1651 — No. 95

NBC 1879 — No. 18

NBC 1908 — VBoT 13

NBC 1909 — VBoT 14

NBC 1910 — VBoT 16

NBC 2506 — VBoT 24

NBC 3842 — Finkelstein, JCS
10 (1956) 102

NBC 3844 — No. 42

NBC 3846 — No. 7

NBC 3934 — Goetze, JCS 1
(1947) 241ff.

NBC 3939 — VBoT 17

NBC 3940 — VBoT 18

NBC 3941 — VBoT 19

NBC 3942 — VBoT 20

NBC 3943 — VBoT 23

NBC 3944 — VBoT 22

NBC 3945 — No. 15

NBC 3946 — No. 87

NBC 3947 — No. 43

NBC 3948 — No. 37

NBC 3991 — No. 19

NBC 4080 — No. 73

NBC 8900 — No. 16
NBC 11777 — No. 59
NBC 11778 — No. 60
NBC 11779 — No. 28
NBC 11780 — No. 74
NBC 11781 — No. 88
NBC 11782 — No. 29
NBC 11783 — No. 96
NBC 11784 — No. 97
NBC 11785 — No. 44
NBC 11786 — No. 13
NBC 11787 — No. 77
NBC 11788 — No. 30
NBC 11789 — No. 31
NBC 11790 — No. 78
NBC 11791 — No. 45
NBC 11792 — No. 46
NBC 11793 — No. 47
NBC 11794 — No. 92
NBC 11795 — No. 17
NBC 11796 — No. 9
NBC 11797 — No. 61
NBC 11798 — No. 20
NBC 11799 — No. 86
NBC 11800 — No. 82
NBC 11801 — No. 1
NBC 11802 — No. 38
NBC 11803 — No. 4
NBC 11804 — No. 62
NBC 11805 — No. 93
NBC 11806 — No. 79
NBC 11807 — No. 90
NBC 11808 — No. 21
NBC 11809 — No. 98
NBC 11810 — No. 63
NBC 11811 — No. 22
NBC 11812 — No. 99
NBC 11813 — No. 64
NBC 11814 — No. 32
NBC 11815 — No. 33

NBC 11816 — No. 5
NBC 11817 — No. 65
NBC 11818 — No. 100
NBC 11819 — No. 101
NBC 11820 — No. 102
NBC 11821 — No. 66
NBC 11822 — No. 103
NBC 11823 — No. 48
NBC 11824 — No. 94
NBC 11825 — No. 50
NBC 11826 — No. 104
NBC 11827 — No. 23
NBC 11828 — No. 105
NBC 11829 — No. 67
NBC 11830 — No. 106
NBC 11831 — No. 68
NBC 11832 — No. 39
NBC 11833 — No. 24
NBC 11834 — No. 107
NBC 11836 — No. 108
NBC 11837 — No. 109
NBC 11838 — No. 110
NBC 11839 — No. 34
NBC 11841 — No. 111
NBC 11842 — No. 112
NBC 11843 — No. 69
NBC 11844 — No. 25
NBC 11845 — No. 113
NBC 11846 — No. 114
NBC 11847 — No. 70
NBC 11848 — No. 115
NBC 11849 — No. 71
NBC 11850 — No. 116
NBC 11851 — No. 117
NBC 11852 — No. 118
NBC 11853 — No. 119
NBC 11854 — No. 35
NBC 11855 — No. 120
NBC 11856 — No. 121
NBC 11857 — No. 122

NBC 11858 — No. 123
 NBC 11859 — No. 124
 NBC 11862 — No. 125
 NBC 11863 — No. 126
 NBC 11864 — No. 127

NBC 11868 — No. 72
 NBC 11869 — No. 56
 NBC 11870 — No. 2
 NBC 11871 — No. 129
 NBC 11872 — No. 130

Oriental Institute*

A 6004 — VBoT 30
 A 6005 — VBoT 31
 A 6006 — VBoT 33
 A 6007 — VBoT 32
 A 6723 — No. 14
 A 6724 — No. 91
 A 6725 — No. 57
 A 6726 — No. 27
 A 6727 — No. 82
 A 6728 — No. 10
 A 6729 — No. 81
 A 6730 — No. 131
 A 6731 — VBoT 49
 A 6732 — No. 132

A 6733 — No. 133
 A 6734 — No. 134
 A 6735 — No. 11
 A 6736 — No. 135
 A 6737 — No. 136
 A 6738 — No. 137
 A 11176 — No. 40
 A 12232 — No. 12
 A 12233 — No. 76
 A 12234 — No. 53
 1982.5.2 — No. 3
 1982.5.3 — No. 83
 1984.4 — No. 26

Yale Babylonian Collection

YBC 16149 — No. 6
 YBC 16163 — VBoT 120
 YBC 16164 — VBoT 121
 YBC 16165 — VBoT 122
 YBC 16166 — VBoT 123
 YBC 16167 — VBoT 124
 YBC 16168 — VBoT 125
 YBC 16169 — VBoT 126
 YBC 16170 — VBoT 127
 YBC 16171 — VBoT 128
 YBC 16172 — VBoT 129
 YBC 16173 — VBoT 130
 YBC 16174 — VBoT 131

YBC 16175 — VBoT 132
 YBC 16176 — VBoT 133
 YBC 16177 — VBoT 134
 YBC 16178 — VBoT 135
 YBC 16184 — No. 80
 YBC 16187 — VBoT 136
 YBC 16189 — No. 51
 YBC 16195 — No. 55
 YBC 16197 — No. 36
 YBC 16201 — No. 52
 YBC 16203 — No. 75
 YBC 16812 — No. 54

*Goetze mistakenly assigned VBoT 25 to the Oriental Institute; it is in fact in the Izmir Museum. On the other hand, VBoT 49 is in Chicago, rather than being part of the one-time "Constantinople Women's College" collection.

Private Collection

No. 85

II. CONCORDANCE TO VBoT NUMBERS

Note that the late Professor Goetze's private collection has become part of the Yale Babylonian Collection. In addition, the Sayce Collection is now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, whose museum numbers we include here by courtesy of Professor Güterbock.

13 — NBC 1908	83 — Sayce 12 — 1933.1059
14 — NBC 1909	84 — Sayce 13 — 1933.1058f
15 — NBC 1648	85 — Sayce 14 — 1933.1058s
16 — NBC 1910	86 — Sayce 15 — 1933.1058a
17 — NBC 3939	87 — Sayce 16 — 1933.1062
18 — NBC 3940	88 — Sayce 17 — 1933.1058c
19 — NBC 3941	89 — Sayce 18 — 1933.1060
20 — NBC 3942	90 — Sayce 19 — 1933.1058b
21 — NBC 1650	91 — Sayce 20 — 1933.1058n
22 — NBC 3944	92 — Sayce 21 — 1933.1058l
23 — NBC 3943	93 — Sayce 22 — 1933.1058x
24 — NBC 2506	94 — Sayce 23 — 1933.1058p
25 — Izmir (see note * on p. 10)	120 — Götze 1 — YBC 16163
26 — Field Museum	121 — Götze 2 — YBC 16164
30 — A 6004	122 — Götze 3 — YBC 16165
31 — A 6005	123 — Götze 4 — YBC 16166
32 — A 6007	124 — Götze 5 — YBC 16167
33 — A 6006	125 — Götze 6 — YBC 16168
49 — A 6731 (see note * on p. 10)	126 — Götze 7 — YBC 16169
72 — Sayce 1 — 1933.1061	127 — Götze 8 — YBC 16170
73 — Sayce 2 — 1933.1058d	128 — Götze 9 — YBC 16171
74 — Sayce 3 — 1933.1058h	129 — Götze 10 — YBC 16172
75 — Sayce 4 — 1933.1058m	130 — Götze 11 — YBC 16173
76 — Sayce 5 — 1933.1058e	131 — Götze 12 — YBC 16174
77 — Sayce 6 — 1933.1058r	132 — Götze 13 — YBC 16175
78 — Sayce 7 — 1933.1058v	133 — Götze 14 — YBC 16176
79 — Sayce 9 — 1933.1058g	134 — Götze 15 — YBC 16177
80 — Sayce 10 — 1933.1058i	135 — Götze 16 — YBC 16178
81 — Sayce 8 — 1933.1058t	136 — "Heidelberg" — YBC 16187
82 — Sayce 11 — 1933.1058u	

INDICES

I. PERSONAL NAMES

- [^m*H*]a-*aḥ-la-ta-ru-up-ša-n*[i], 6 iii 1
 [^m*Hal-*]pa'-*šu-lu-pí*, 10:9
^m*Ha-an-ti-li-iš*, 40 rev. 3
^m*Maš-ḥu-i-lu-wa*, 1:6, (8), (9)
^m*Mur-ši-DINGIR-LIM*, 40 rev. 2, 4;
 128:5
^m*Tar-ga-aš-ša-na-al-li*, 1:5
 [^m*Palluwara-*]LÚ, 53:5
- [^m*Piḥa-UR.M*]AḤ, 53:4
^m*Tàš-ku-DINGIR-LIM*, 7:5, (7)
^m*Du-ut-ḥ[a-li-ya]*, 78:5
^mAMAR.MUŠEN, 75:7; 76:4
 [^mN]U.GIŠ.SAR, 53:6
 []-*ḥa-ri-li-iš*, 72 rev. 6
 []-*x-me-la-aš*, 72 rev. 4
 []*x-pí-i-li-i[š]*, 72 rev. 2

II. GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

- URU.A-*ri-ḥa-zi'-ya*, 59:5
 URU.TÚL-na, 16:(2)?; 73:1
 [KUR URU.A]*r-za-[u-wa]*, 1:1
 [URU.A]*r-zi-wa*(over erased -*ya*)-
il, 16:6
 URU.*Ha-at-tu-ša*, 40 rev. 6
 KUR URU.*Ha-at-ti*, 72 ii 7
 [URU].*Ha-at-tu-ši*, 1:(2); 14 rev. 5
- KUR URU.*Ha-at-t[u-]*, 123:2
 KUR URU.*Ḥur-ri*, 72 ii (2)
 ŠA KUR *Ḥur-ri*, 72 ii 6
 URU.*Ne-r[i-ik?]*, 49:5; 12:1[(?)]
 [KUR I]D.Še-*e-ḥa*, 1:4
 [URU].*Za-az-li-i[p-pa]*, 63:3
 URU.*Zi-pal-d[a]*, 62:1

III. DIVINE NAMES

Not including those appearing as lots in KIN-oracles.

- ^d*Hal-ma*, 54 obv. 12
^d*Ha-ša-me-li*, 62:2
^d*Ha-aš-ka'-la-a*, 60:3
^d*Ḥé-bat*, 45:3, 4
^d*Iš-ḥa-ra*, 54 obv. 1, rev. 3
^d*Gul-š[i-]*, 33:4
 (^d)*Ni-in-ga-aš*, 84:3, 7, (9)
^d*Ša-an-ga-ra*, 54 obv. 12
^d*Ta-a-[]*, 134:3
^d*Ta-ši-mi-i[t-]*, 131:3
^d*Tu-uḥ-ḥi-it-ra*, 54 obv. 12
^d*Zi-pár-wa_a-a*, 42:4, 7, (12)
- ^dÉ.A-in, 88:6
^dIMIN.IMIN.BI, 16:5
^dKAL.LUGAL, 57:3?
 (^d)KÛ.BABBAR-an, 12:7
 (^d)KÛ.BABBAR-i, 12:9
^dU, 12:1?
^dU-an, 40 obv. 5
^dU-aš, 19:4
^dU-ni, 40 obv. 4
^dU URU.A-*ri-ḥa-zi'-ya*, 59:5
^dU URU.*Ḥat-[ti]*, 133:3
^dU URU.*Zi-pal-da*, 62:1

(^d)UD.SIG₅, 14:5

^dUTU, 56:2

^dUTU-*u*[*n*], 76:15

^dUTU-*aš*, 54 obv. 12

^dUTU-*i*, 65:6

^dUTU AN-[*E*], 56:2


^dUTU URU.TÚL-*na*, 73:1

ták-na-aš ^dUTU-*uš*, 40 obv. 9


ták-na-aš ^dUTU-*aš*, 40 obv. 6

ták-na-aš ^dUTU-*i*, 40 obv. 7

VBoT 18 (NBC 3940)


line 6', end: 

VBoT 19 (NBC 3941)


line 4', end: *il-te-* 

line 6': 

VBoT 21 (NBC 1650)


line 3':  *IŠ-TUR*

VBoT 23 (NBC 3943)

line 6':  *-du-uš*


VBoT 24 (NBC 2506)


i 20: *ŠA-* 

i 24: 


similar elsewhere


i 27: *iš-*  *-na-aš*

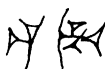
i 36: *GIŠ.ha-*  *-ki-eš-na-aš*

i 44:  *-kán-zi*


ii 8: paragraph stroke follows


iii 44:  *-a-u-wa-ar*


iv 10: *bu-u-*  *-ti-ya-mi*

iv 37: 

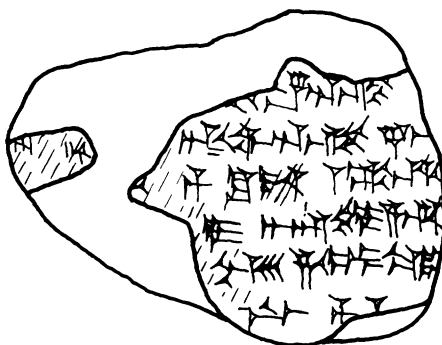
*VBoT 26 (Field Museum) **

obv.? 6: *É-* 

obv.? 12: 1 

obv.? 13, end: 

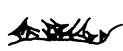
rev.?:




*from a cast at the Oriental Institute


VBoT 30 (A 6004)


obv. 1, end: 

obv. 16, end: 


VBoT 31 (A 6005)

line 1, mid.:  *HI.A-uš*





line 2, end: *tu-* 

line 6, beg.:  *-i-šar*



VBoT 32 (A 6007)

line 18, end: 

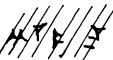
VBoT 33 (A 6006)

line 2, beg.: line 3, beg.:  -anline 5: beg.: line 12, end: -ya- 

VBoT 120 (YBC 16163)

i 2': i 6': 


i 23': no paragraph stroke follows

iii 1':  -¹da¹-iii 4': na- 


VBoT 121 (YBC 16164)

line 1': line 2':  -la-u-aš


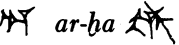



VBoT 128 (YBC 16171)

lines on obv. slant severely
to upper rightii 16: 




VBoT 130 (YBC 16173)

line 5', end: 

VBoT 136 (YBC 16187)

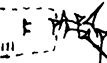

line 4, end: line 5: [E]GIR-  ar-ha line 8: line 14, beg.: 

JCS 10 (1957) 102 (NBC 3842)


obv. 2, end: Hur- obv. 4, end: obv. 7, 9, 11, 19: SÍG.HA-  -


TI/TUM

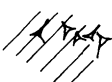
[obv. 5, 13, etc. as in copy]


obv. 18: URU.Šar-ma- rev. 4, end: rev. 7:  GAD.DAM

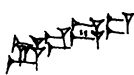
JCS 1 (1947) 243 (NBC 3934)

obv. 7': 

obv. 14': 

rev. 3', end: 

obv. 31': 

rev. 20', end: SIG₅-*qu-ti* 

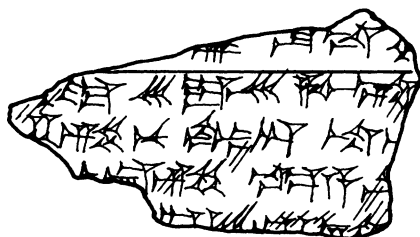
No. 1

NBC 11801



No. 2

NBC 11870



No. 3

1982.5.2

left edge

10

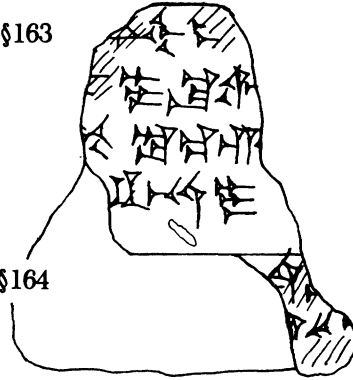


No. 4

NBC 11803

§163

§164



No. 5

NBC 11816

§145

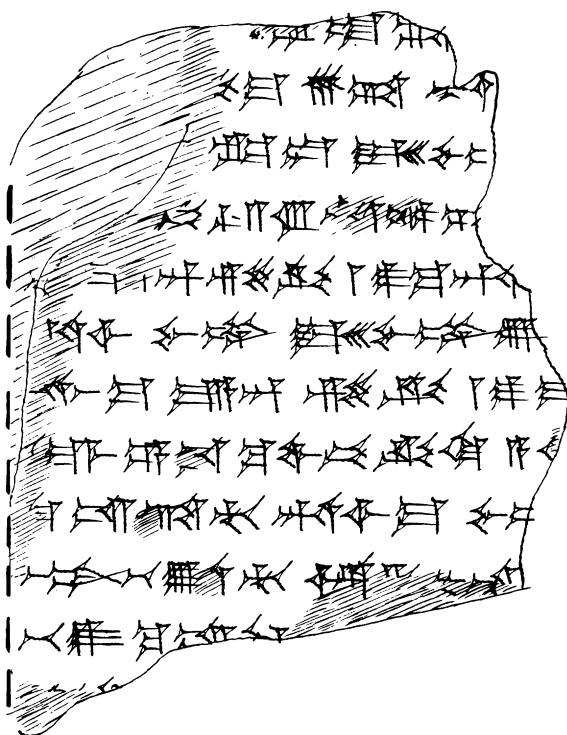
§146



No. 7

NBC 3846

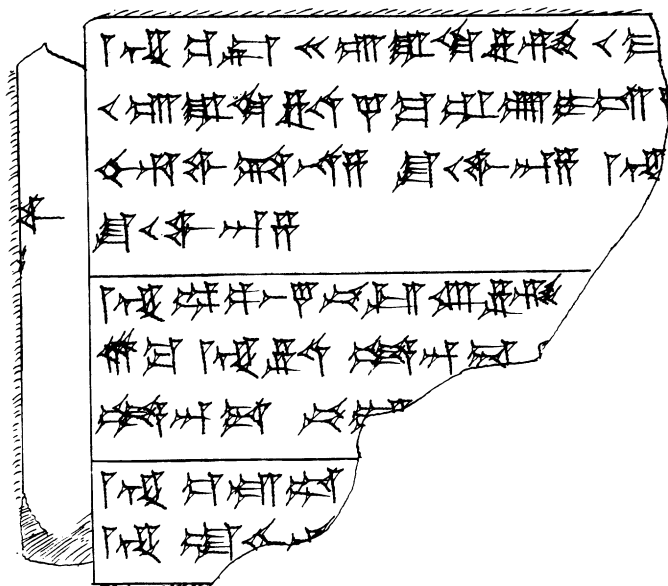
10



No. 8

Col. Univ. Library

obv.?



No. 9

NBC 11796



No. 10

A 6728



No. 11

A 6735



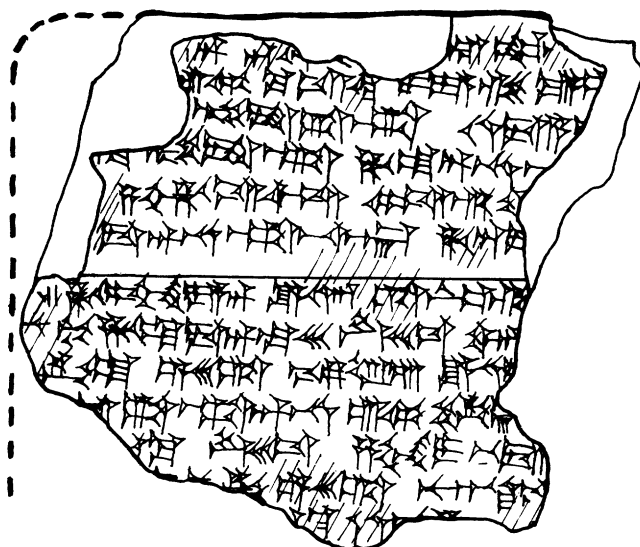
No. 12

A 12232

upper edge

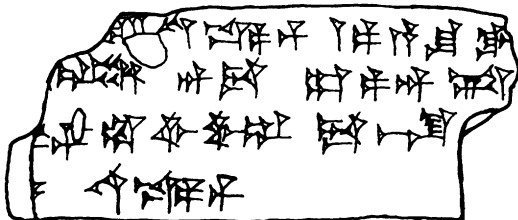
left edge

10



No. 13

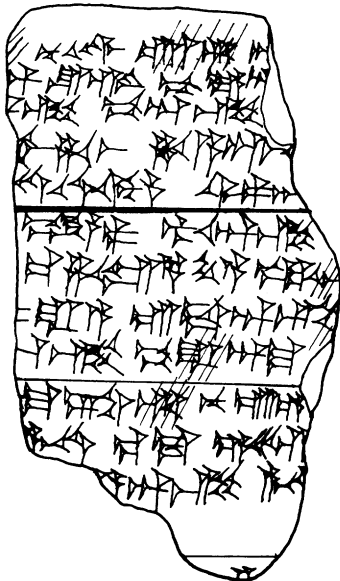
NBC 11786



No. 14

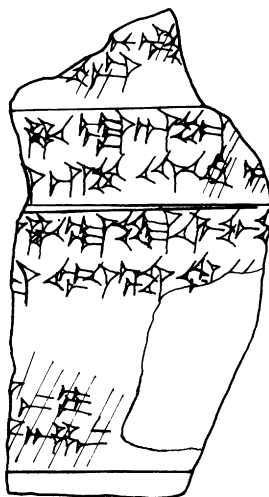
A 6723

obv.



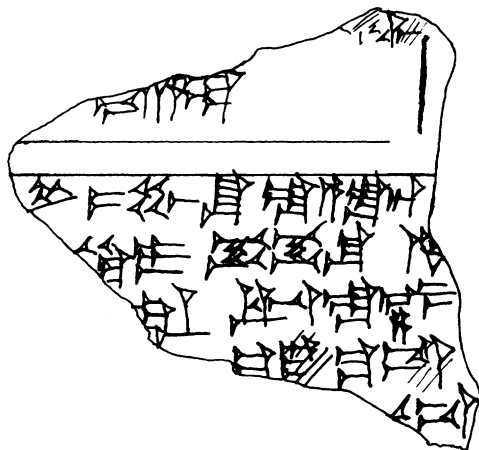
10

rev.



No. 15

NBC 3945



No. 16

NBC 8900



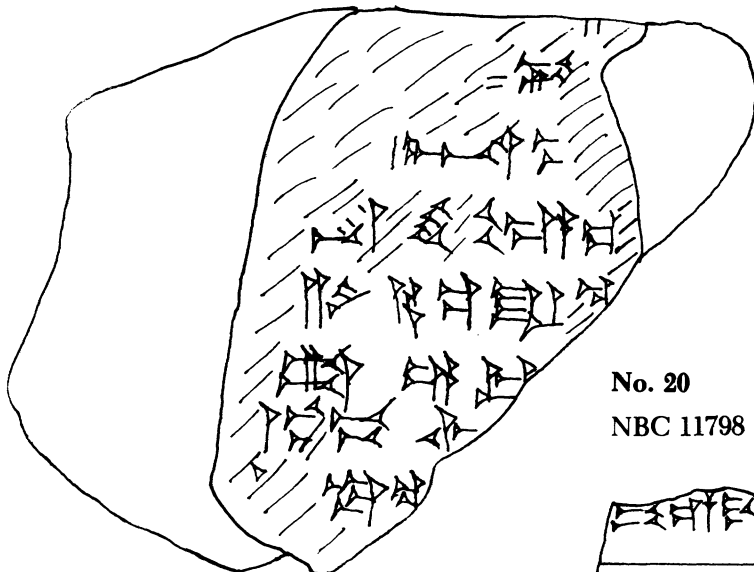
No. 17

NBC 11795



No. 18

NBC 1879



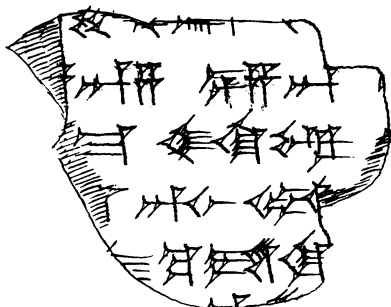
No. 20

NBC 11798



No. 19

NBC 3991



No. 21

NBC 11808



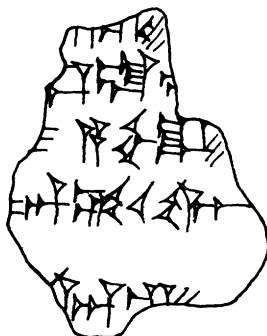
No. 22

NBC 11811



No. 23

NBC 11827



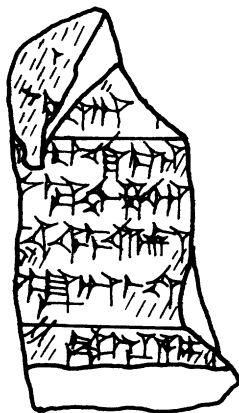
No. 24

NBC 11833



No. 26

1984.4



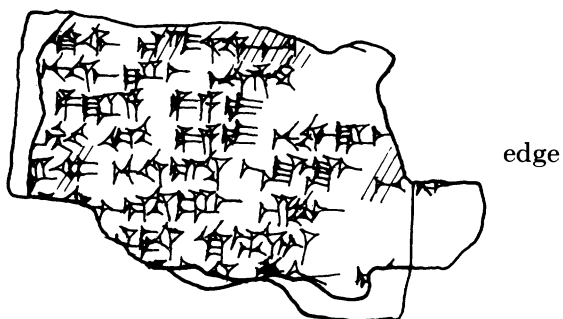
No. 25

NBC 11844



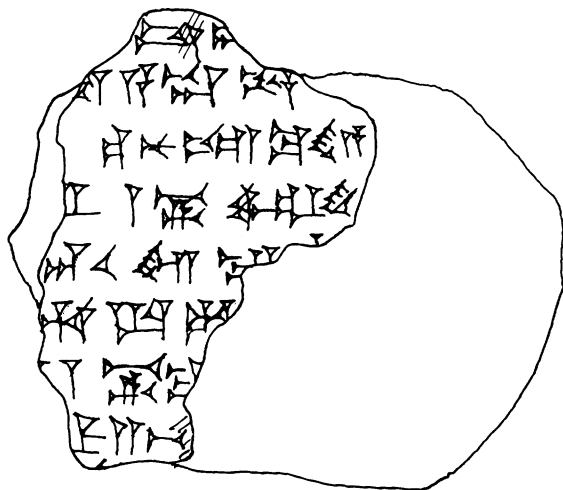
No. 27

A 6726



No. 28

NBC 11799



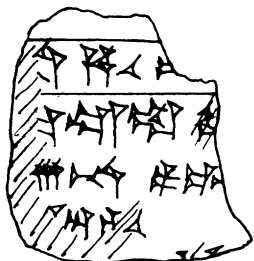
No. 29

NBC 11782



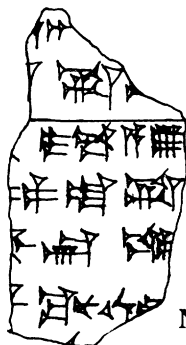
No. 30

NBC 11788



No. 31

NBC 11789



No. 32

NBC 11814



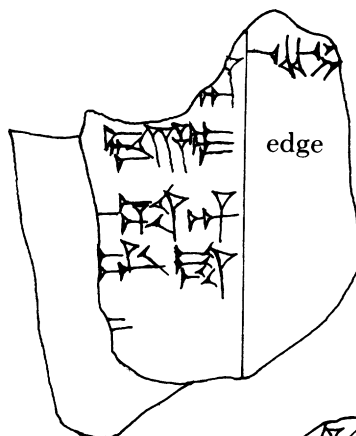
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NBC 11815



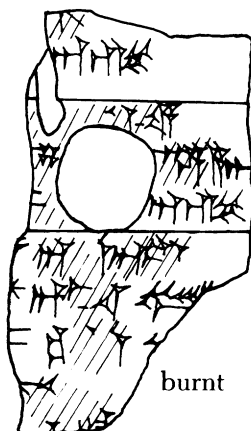
No. 34

NBC 11839



No. 35

NBC 11854



burnt

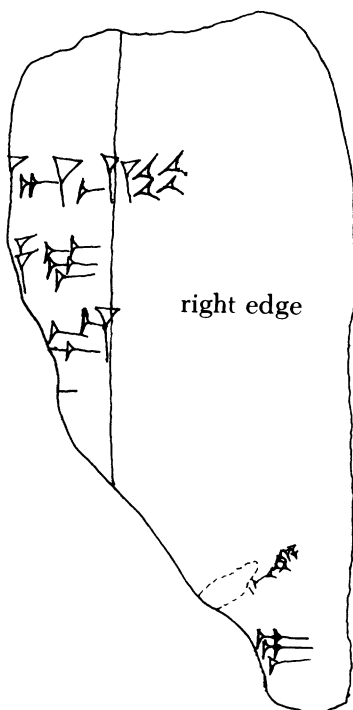
No. 36

YBC 16197



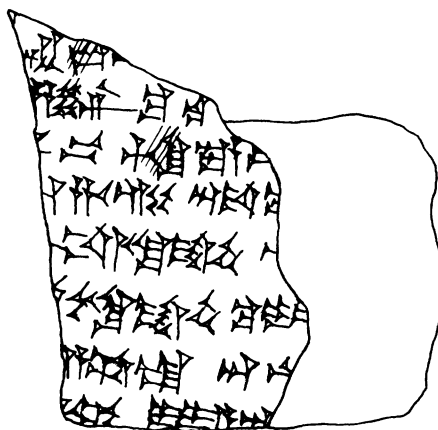
No. 37

NBC 3948



No. 38

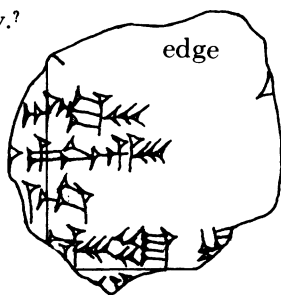
NBC 11802



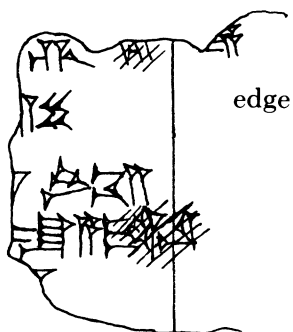
No. 39

NBC 11832

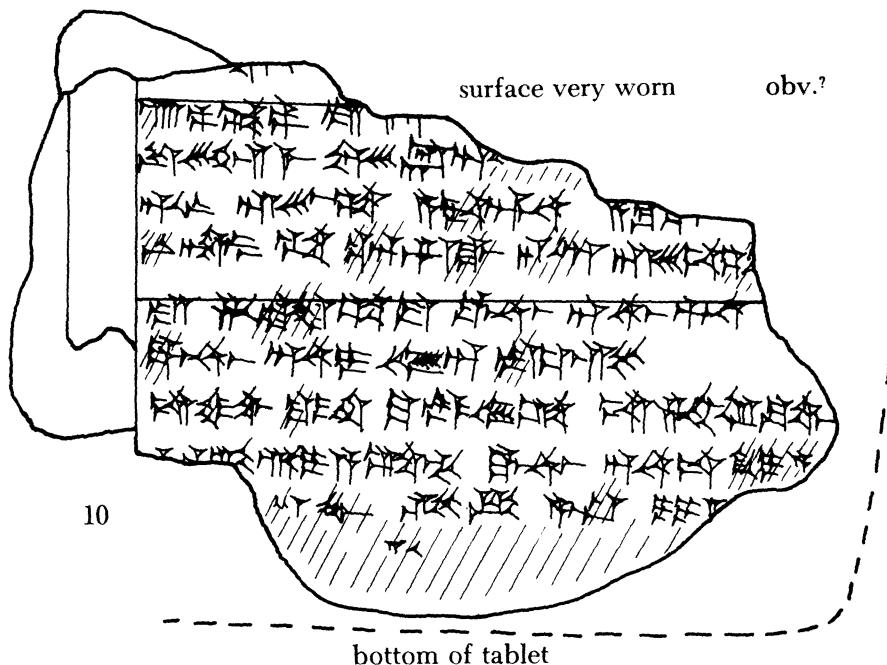
obv.?



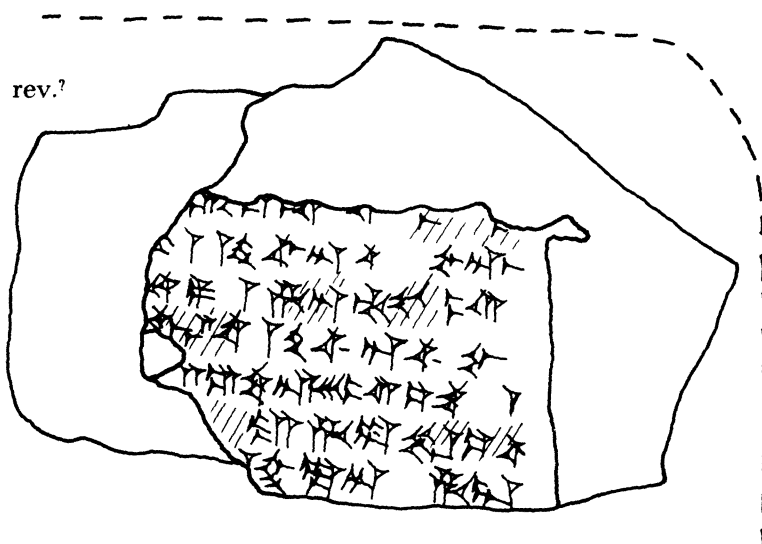
rev.?



No. 40
A 11176

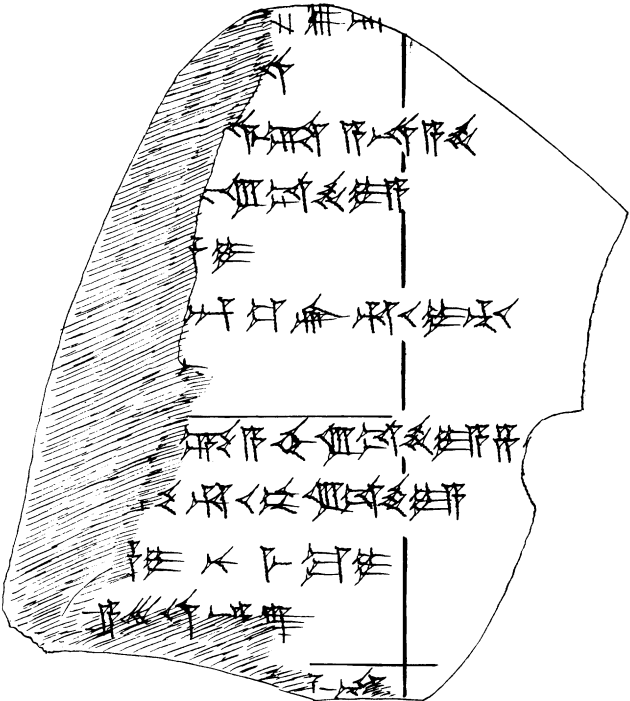


rev.?



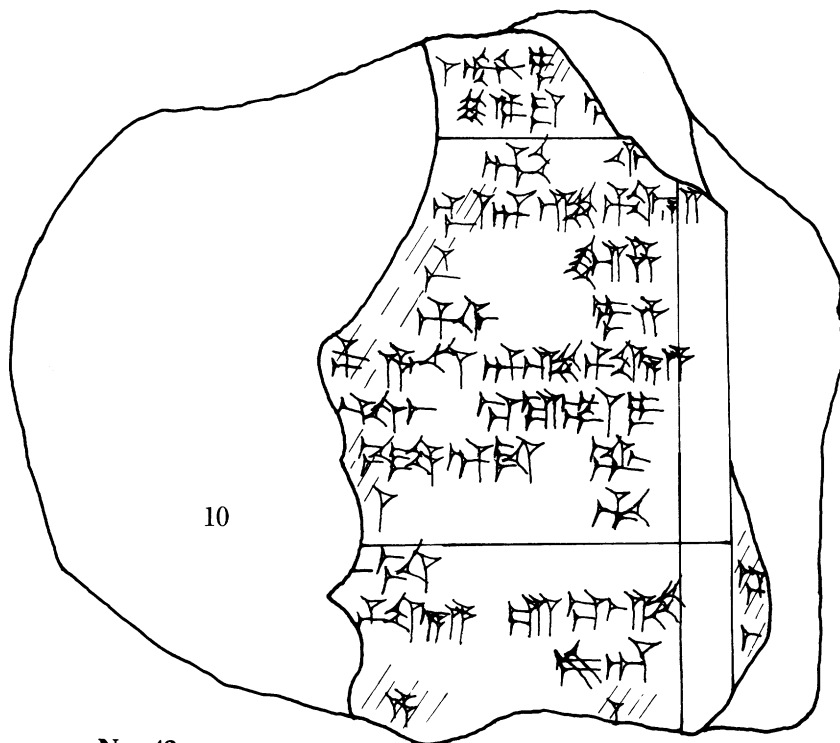
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NCBT 2283



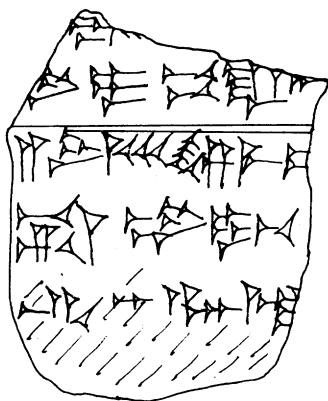
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NBC 3844



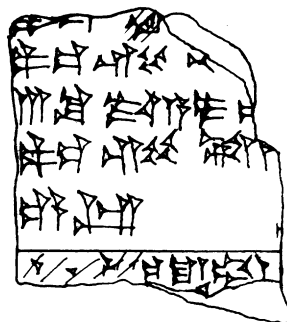
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NBC 3947



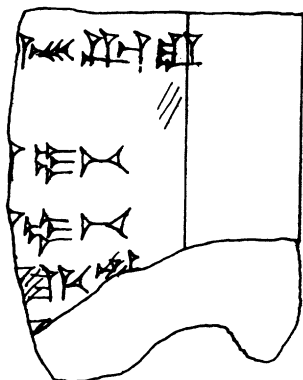
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NBC 11785



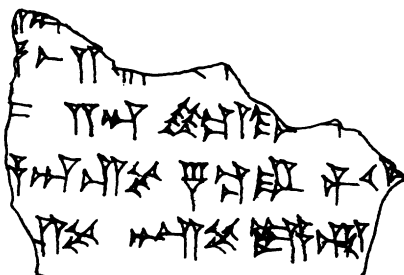
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NBC 11791



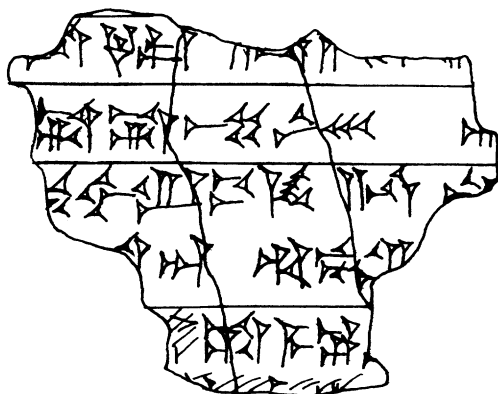
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NBC 11792



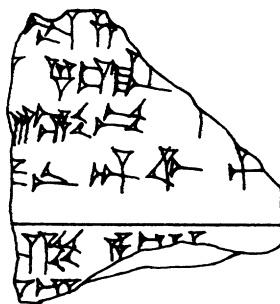
No. 47

NBC 11793



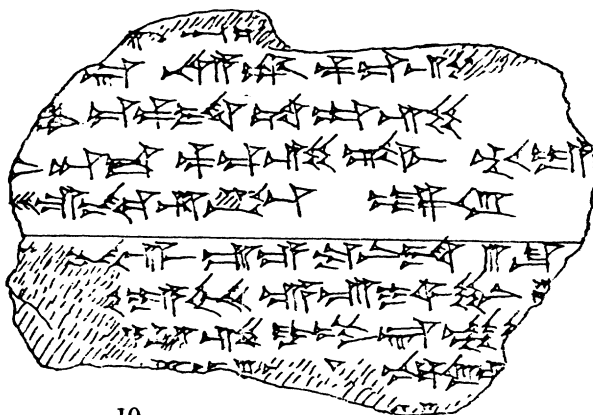
No. 48

NBC 11823



No. 49

Spencer 768



10

No. 51

YBC 16189

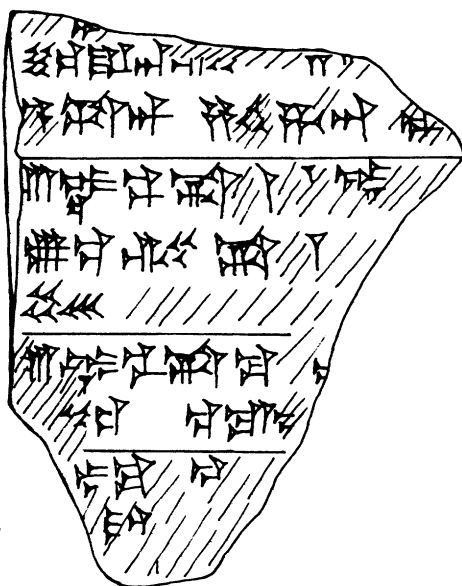
left edge

No. 50

NBC 11825

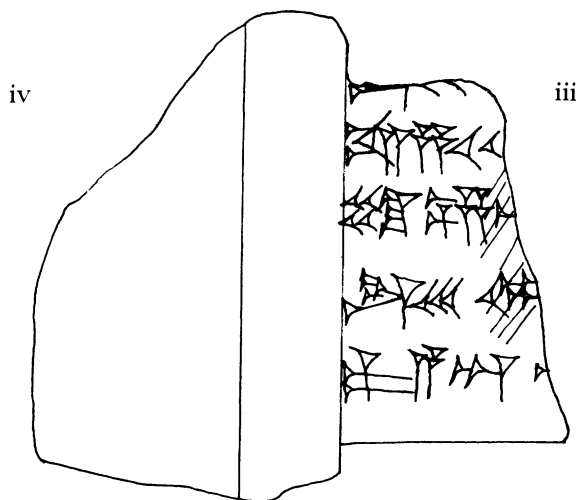


10



No. 52

YBC 16201

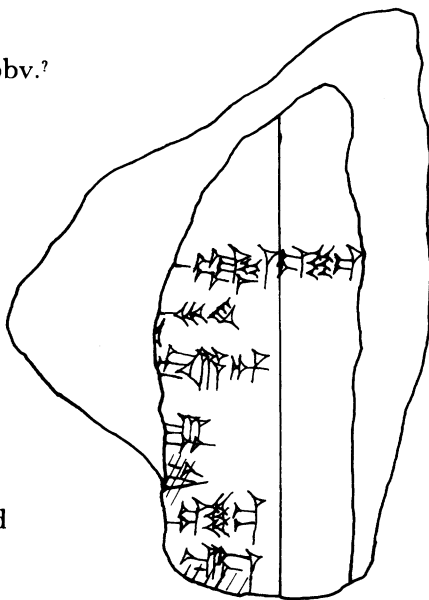


No. 53

A 12234

obv.?

rev.? destroyed



No. 54

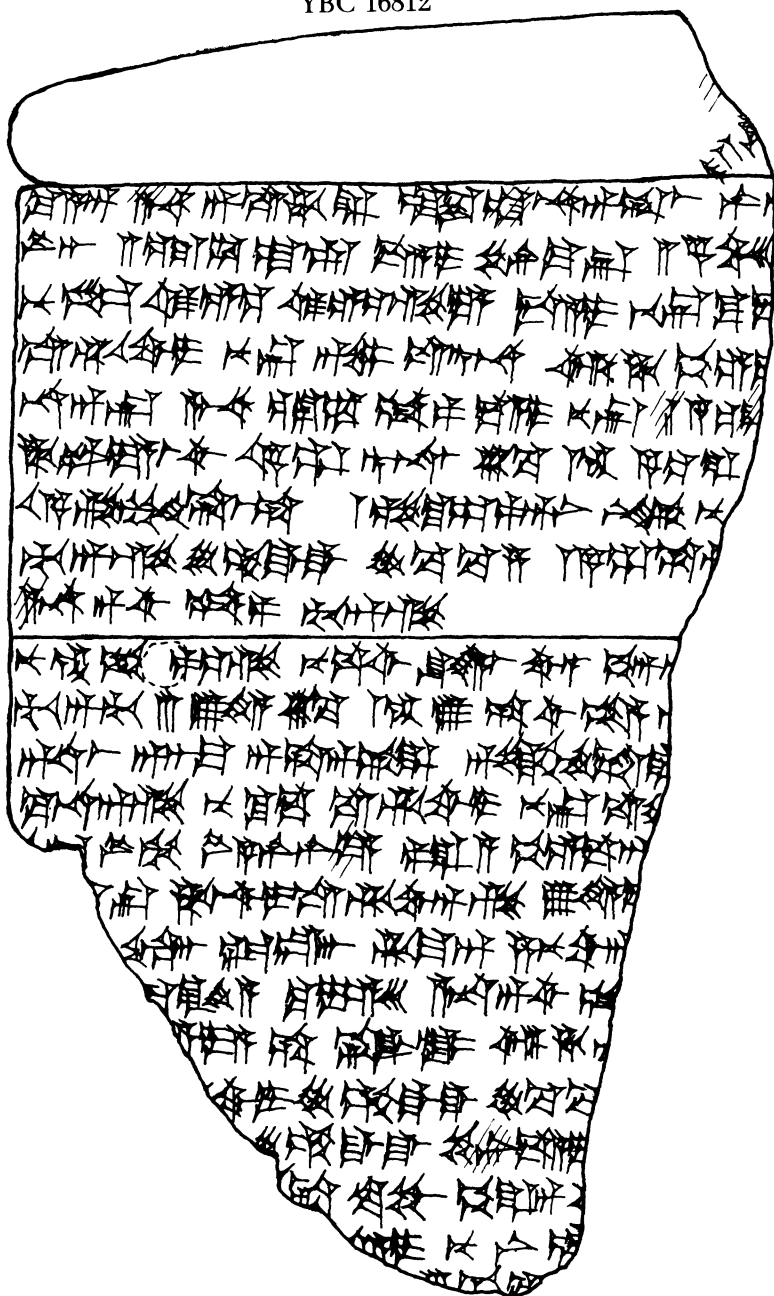
YBC 16812

obv.

10

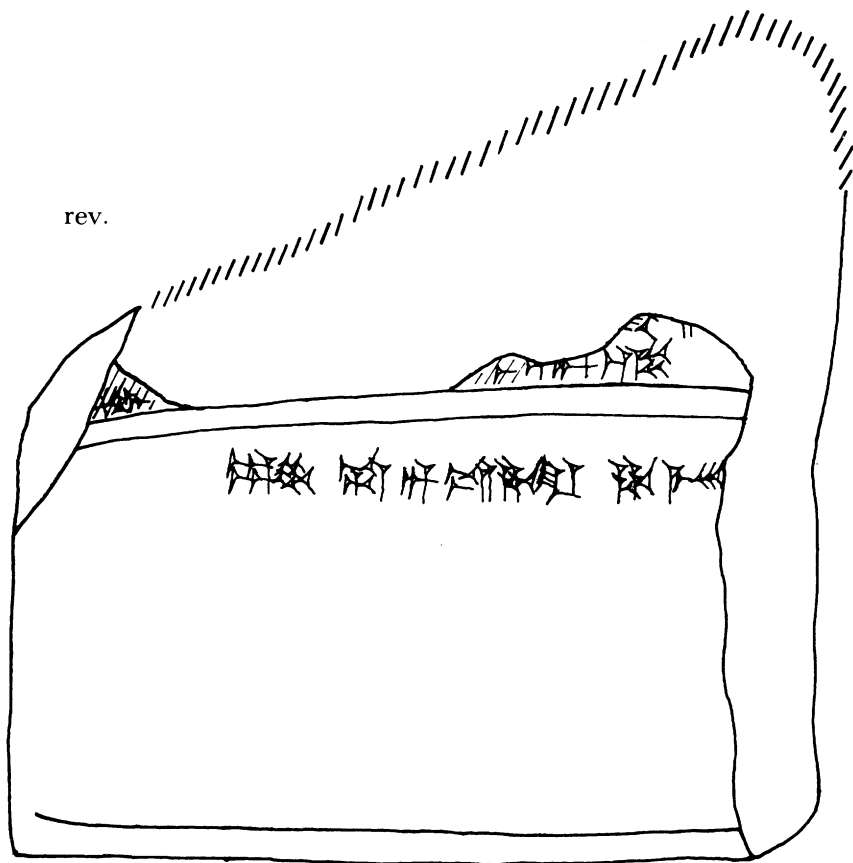
15

20



No. 54

YBC 16812

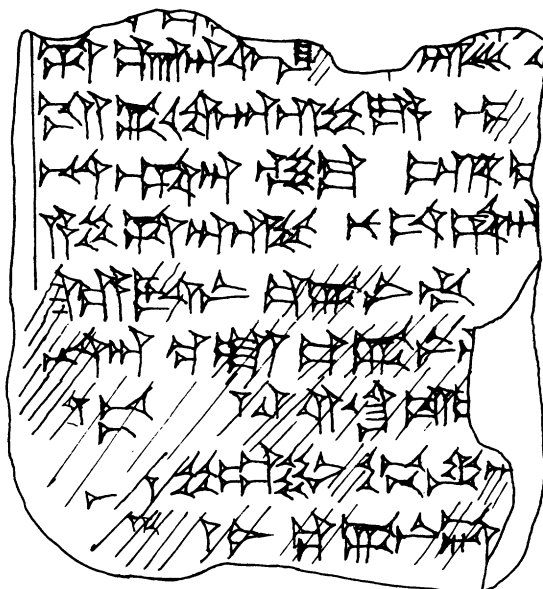


No. 55

YBC 16195

left edge

10



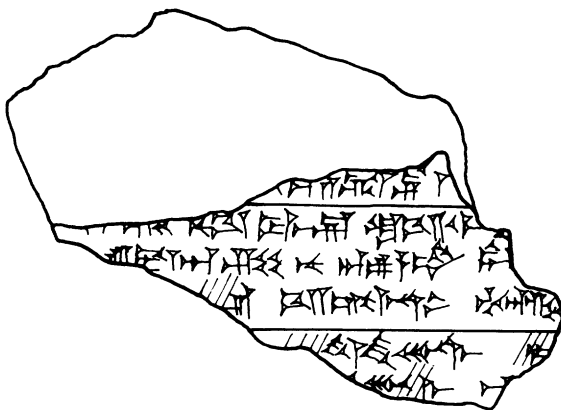
other side completely abraded

No. 56

NBC 11869

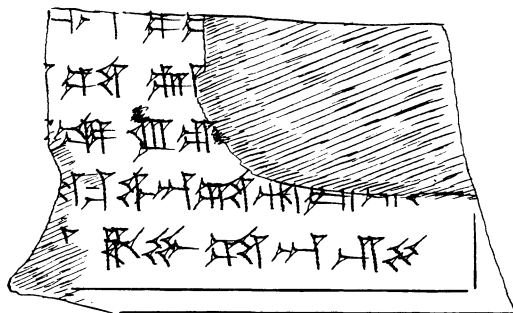
No. 57

A 6725



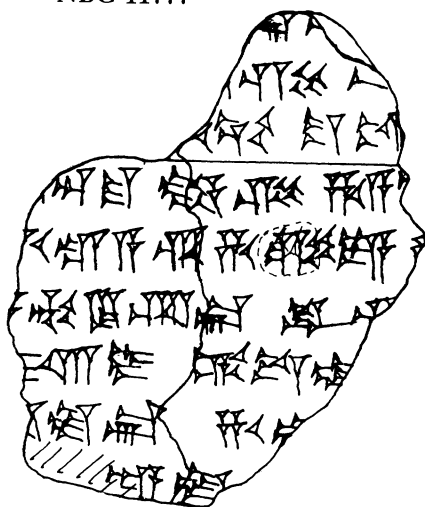
No. 58

NBC 1640



No. 59

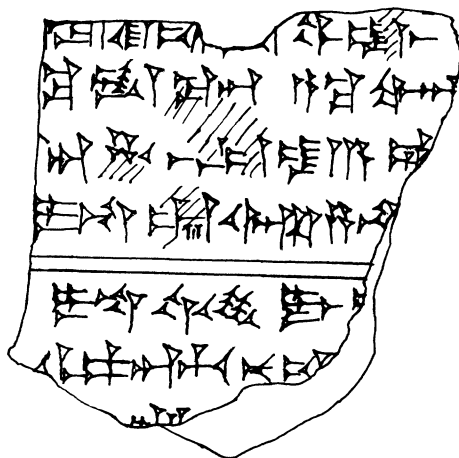
NBC 11777



bottom of tablet

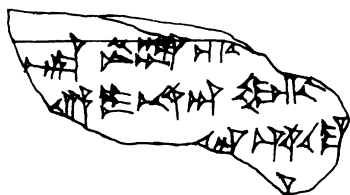
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NBC 11778



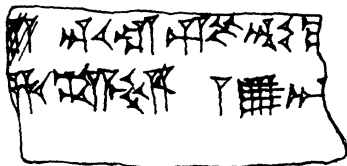
No. 61

NBC 11797



No. 62

NBC 11804



No. 63

NBC 11810



No. 64

NBC 11813



No. 65

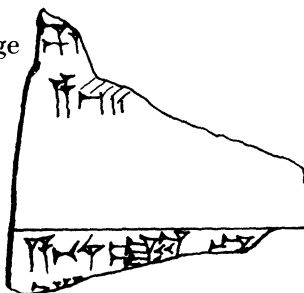
NBC 11817



No. 66

NBC 11821

left edge



No. 67

NBC 11829



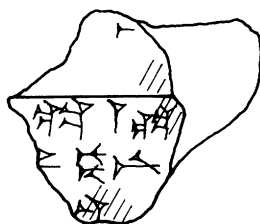
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NBC 11831



No. 69

NBC 11843



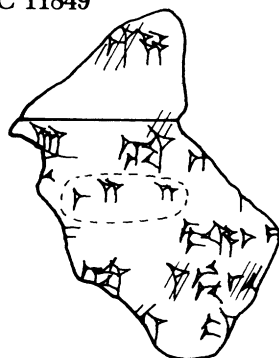
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NBC 11847



No. 71

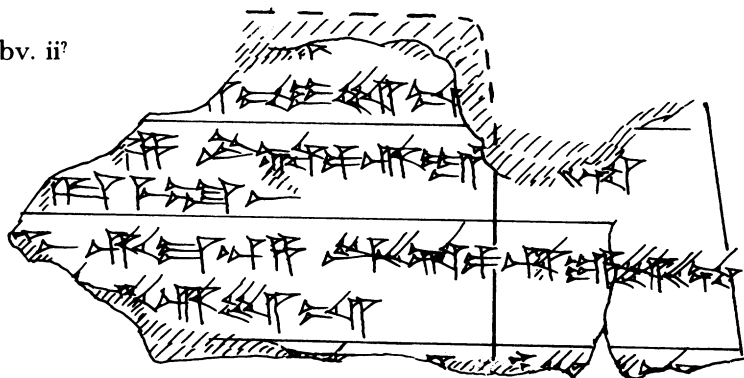
NBC 11849



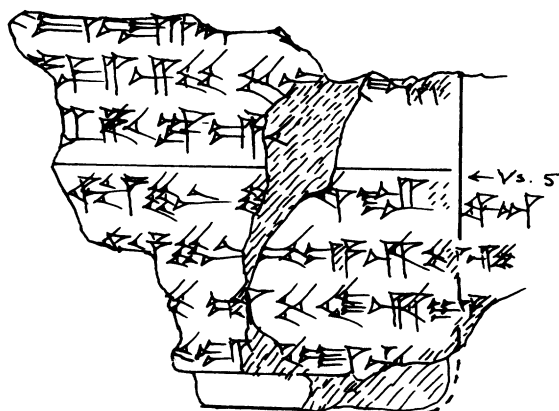
No. 72

NBC 11868

obv. ii?



rev. iii?



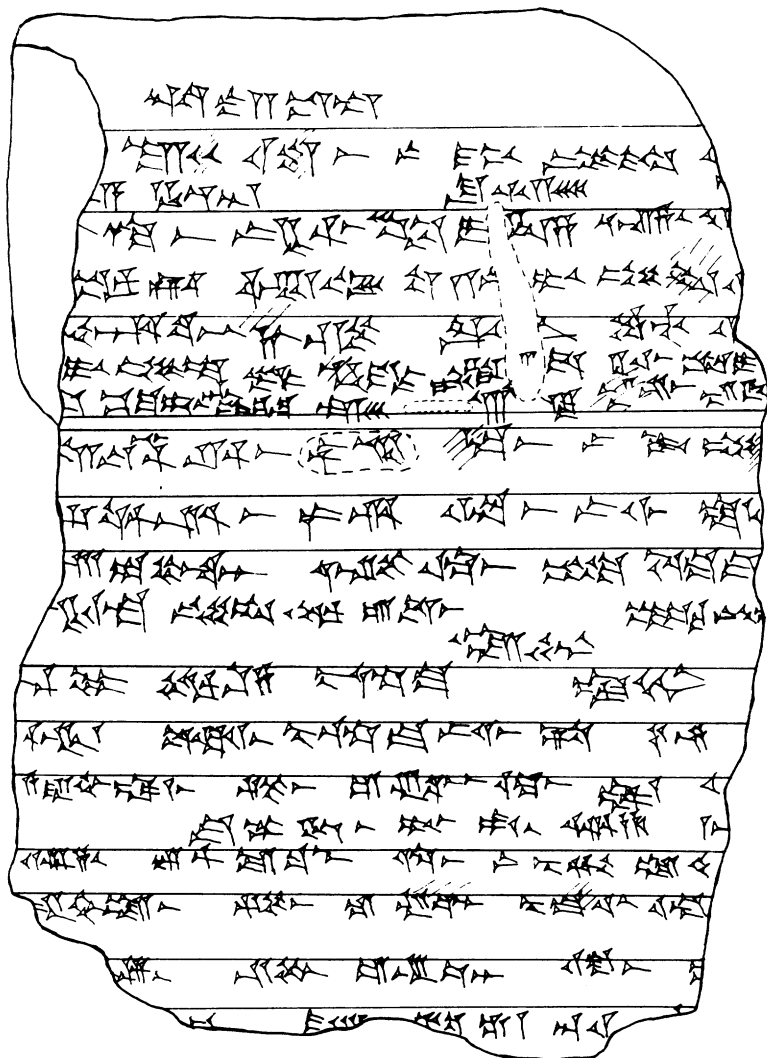
No. 73

NBC 4080

upper edge

10

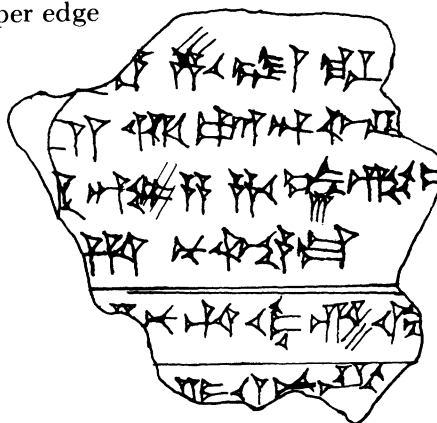
20



No. 74

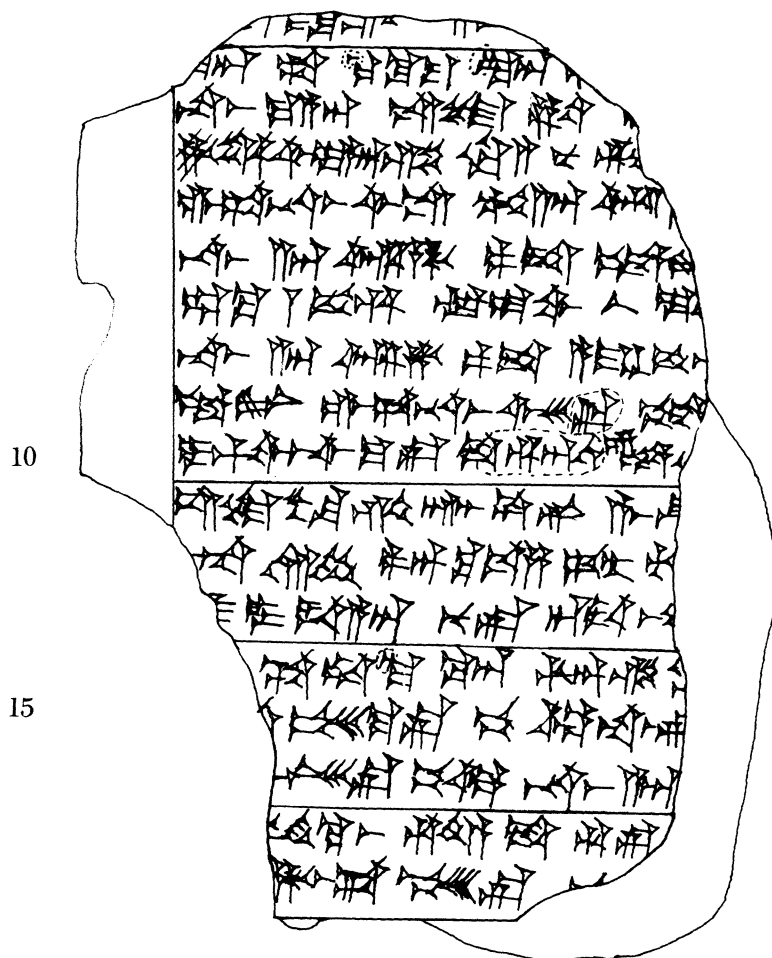
NBC 11780

upper edge



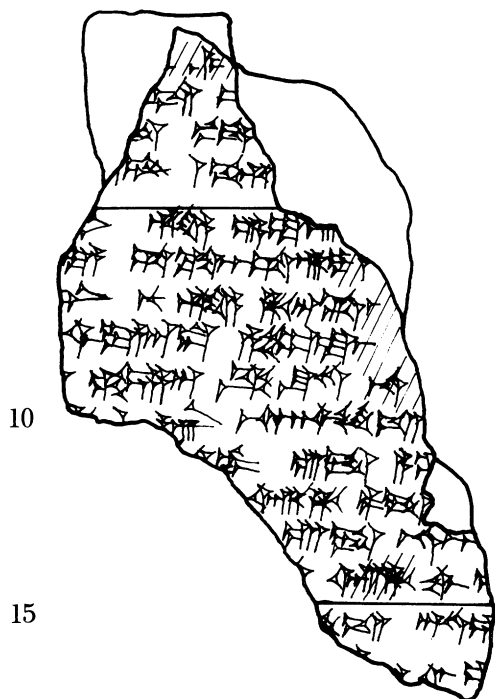
No. 75

YBC 16203



No. 76

A 12233

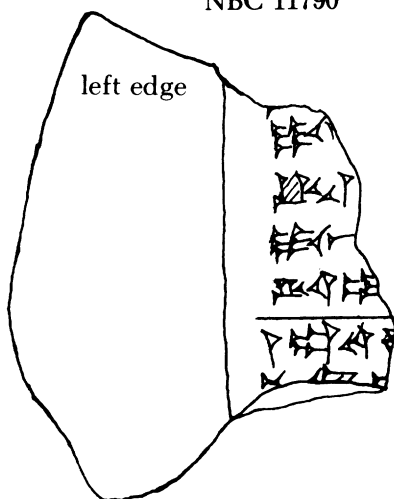
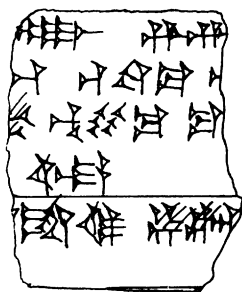


No. 78

NBC 11790

No. 77

NBC 11787



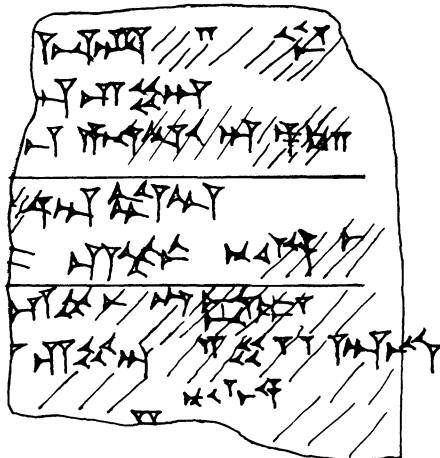
No. 79

NBC 11806



No. 80

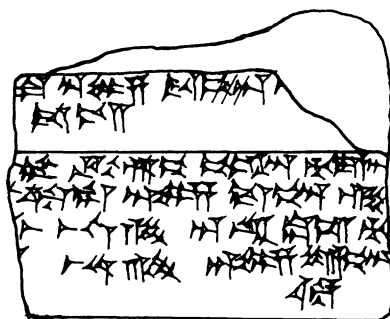
YBC 16184



rev. uninscribed

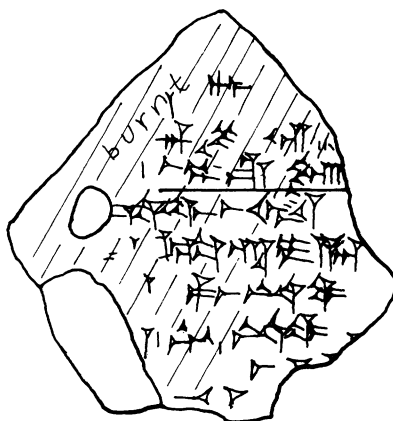
No. 81

A 6729



No. 82

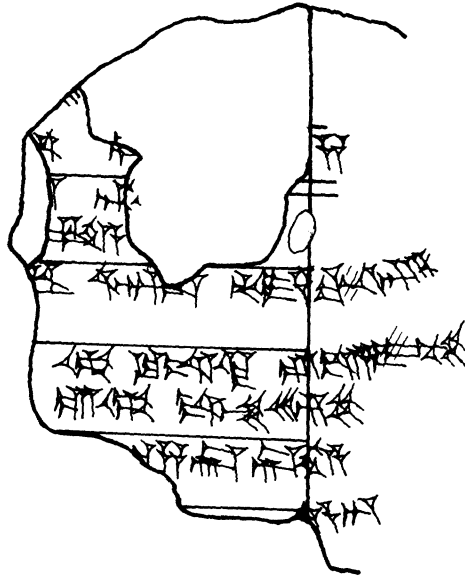
A 6727



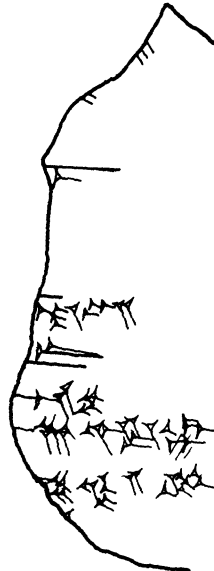
No. 83

1982.5.3

obv.



right edge



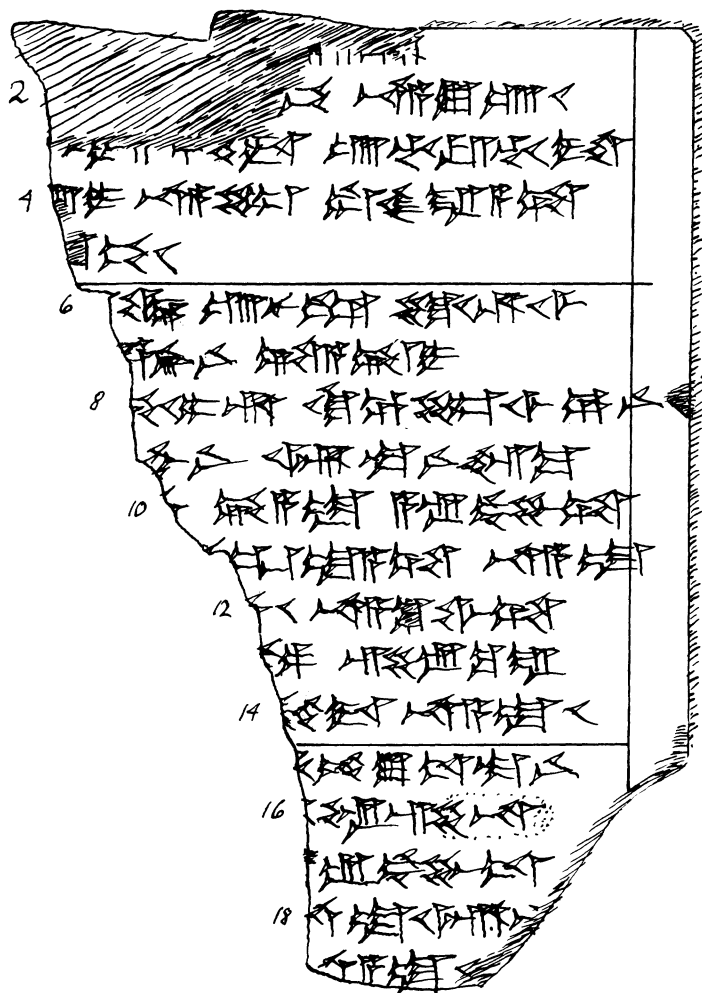
No. 84

NBC 1641



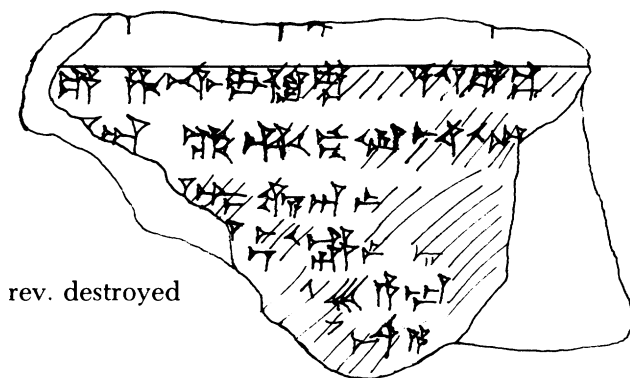
No. 85

private collection



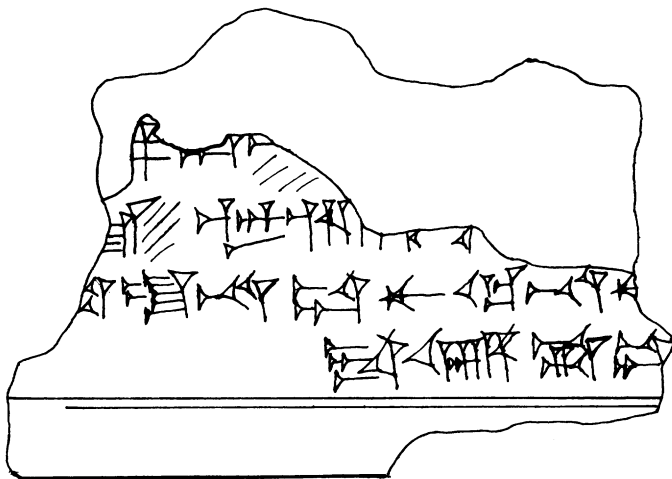
No. 86

NBC 11799



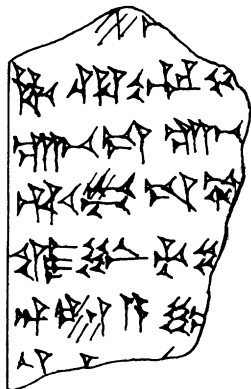
No. 87

NBC 3946

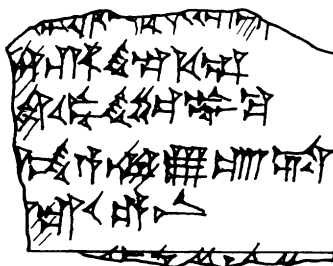


No. 88
NBC 11781

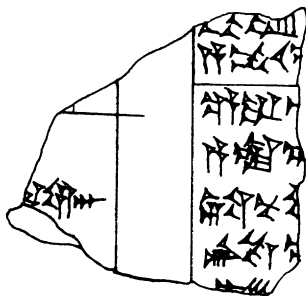
ii?



No. 89
NBC 11800



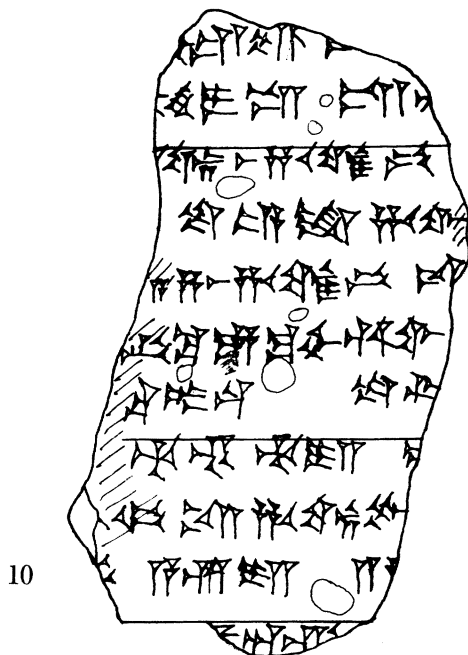
No. 90
NBC 11807



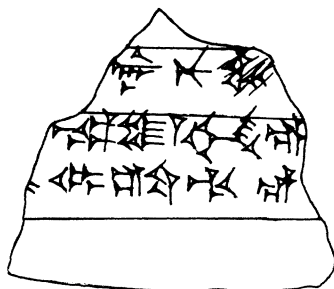
No. 91
A 6724



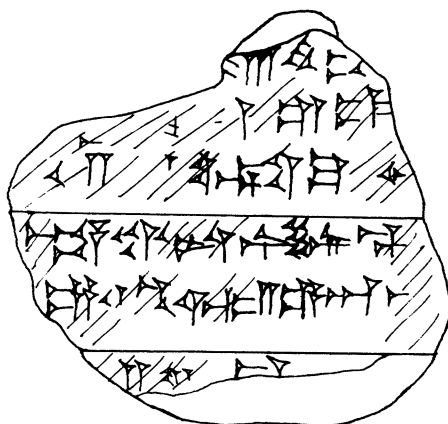
No. 92
NBC 11794



No. 93
NBC 11805

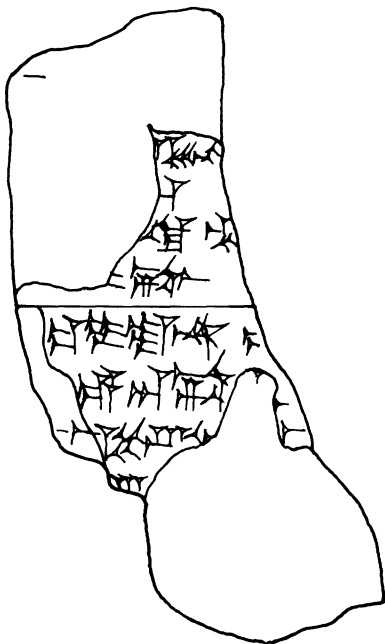


No. 94
NBC 11824



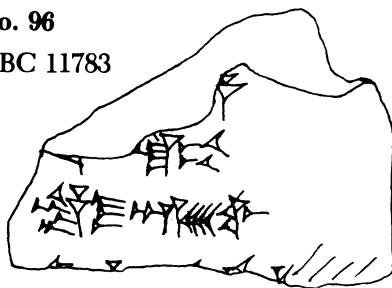
No. 95

NBC 1651



No. 96

NBC 11783



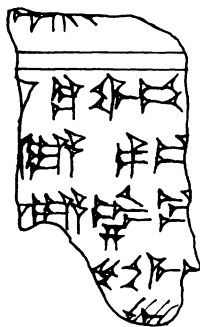
No. 97

NBC 11784



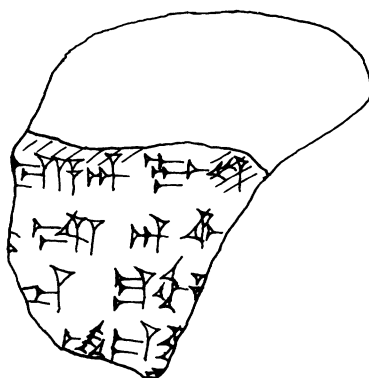
No. 98

NBC 11809



No. 99

NBC 11812



No. 100

NBC 11818



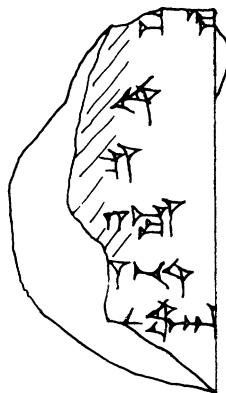
No. 101

NBC 11819



No. 102

NBC 11820



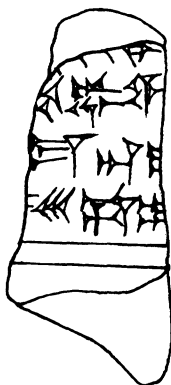
No. 103

NBC 11822



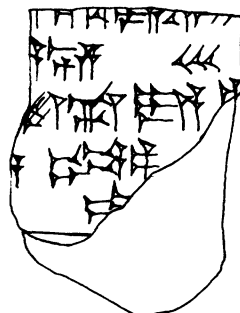
No. 104

NBC 11826



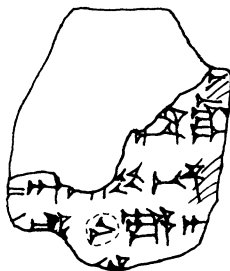
No. 105

NBC 11828



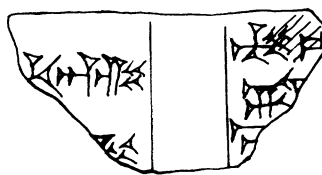
No. 106

NBC 11830



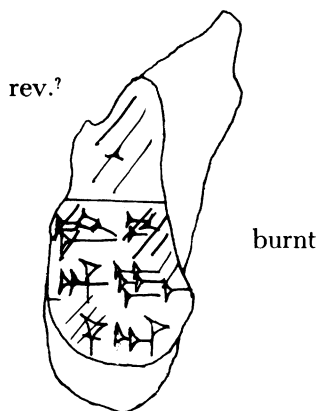
No. 107

NBC 11834



No. 108

NBC 11836



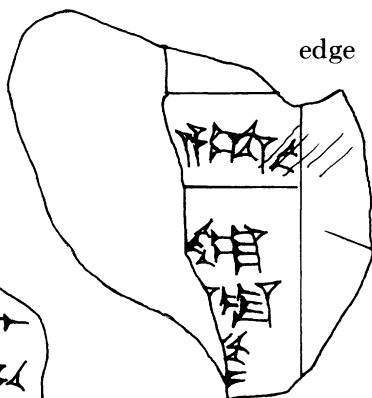
No. 109

NBC 11837



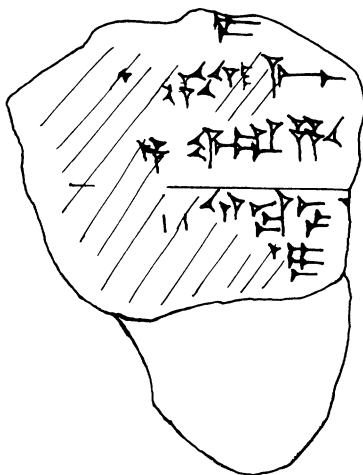
No. 110

NBC 11838



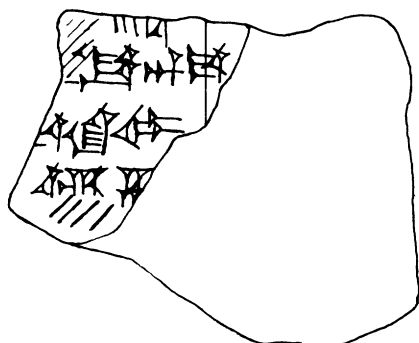
No. 111

NBC 11841



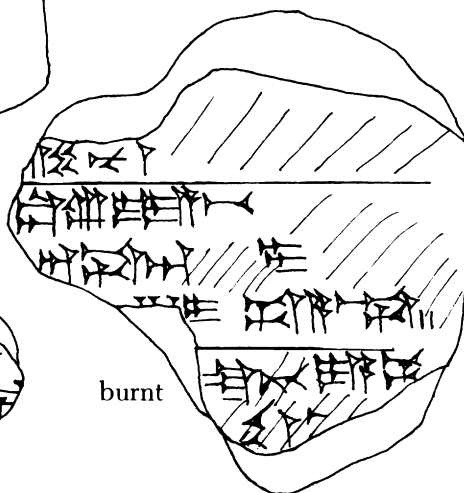
No. 112

NBC 11842



No. 113

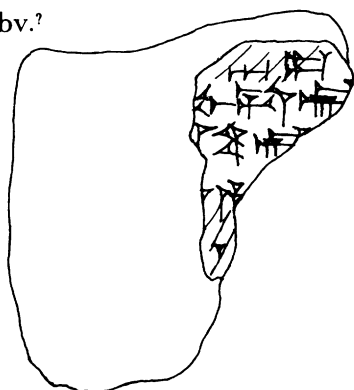
NBC 11845



No. 114

NBC 11846

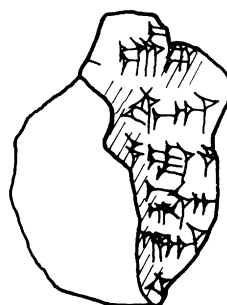
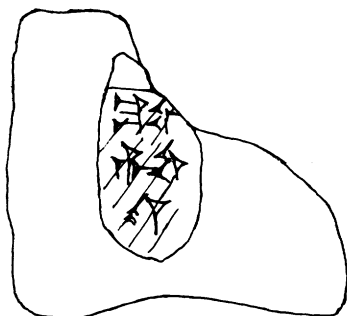
obv.?



No. 115

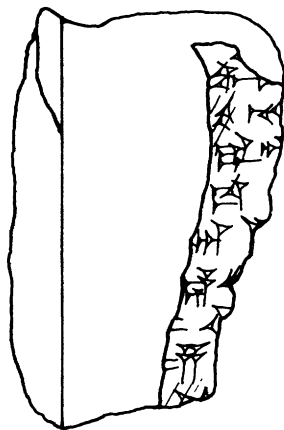
NBC 11848

rev.?



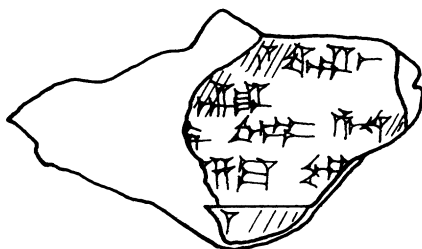
No. 116

NBC 11850



No. 117

NBC 11851



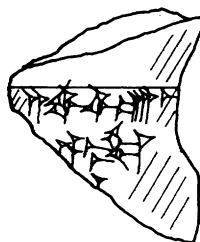
No. 119

NBC 11853



No. 120

NBC 11855



No. 118

NBC 11852



No. 122

NBC 11857



No. 123

NBC 11858

left edge



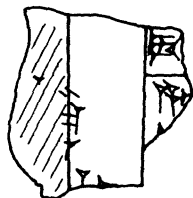
No. 121

NBC 11856



No. 124

NBC 11859



No. 125

NBC 11862



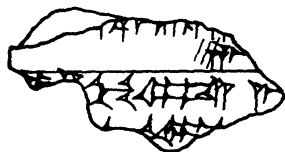
No. 126

NBC 11863



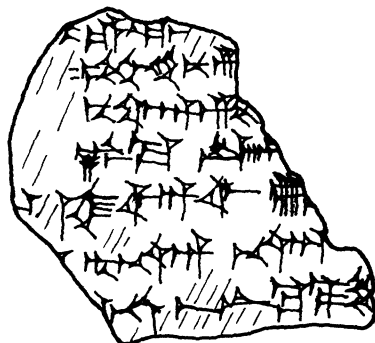
No. 127

NBC 11864



No. 128

NCBT 2299



No. 129

NBC 11871



No. 131

A 6730



No. 130

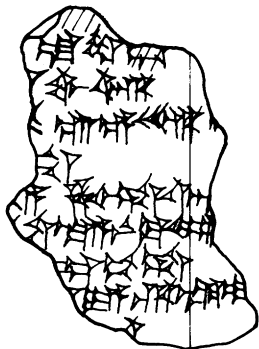
NBC 11872



edge

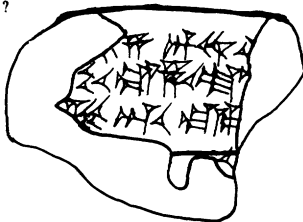
No. 132

A 6732

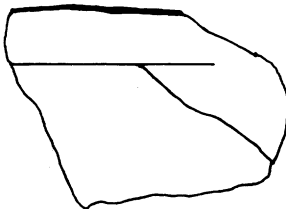


No. 133

A 6733

upper edge
obv.?

rev.?



No. 134

A 6734

left edge



No. 135

A 6736



No. 136

A 6737



bottom edge

No. 137

A 6738



The Hittite word for "Oil" and its Derivatives

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Historische Sprachforschung / Historical Linguistics*, 1994, 107. Bd., 2. H. (1994), pp. 222-230

Published by: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (GmbH & Co. KG)

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The Hittite word for “Oil” and its Derivatives¹⁾

One of the most common Sumerograms in Hittite texts is *l̃* “oil”,²⁾ for which no one has yet proposed a Hittite reading. The known phonetic complements of *l̃* cumulatively suggest that the word was a neuter, either an a-stem or an n-stem. It has the following paradigm:³⁾

neuter nom.-acc. (nom. by context) *l̃-an* KUB 13.8:8 (MH), KBo 17.105 ii 34, iv 2, KUB 17.10 iv 29 (OH/MS).

(accus. by context) *l̃-an* KUB 4.3 obv. 17, KUB 7.41 + i 39, KUB 10.92 vi 12, KUB 12.5 iv 12, KUB 12.63 rev. 17, KUB 17.13:2, 10, KUB 27.1 iv 39, KUB 30.36 ii 1, KUB 33.73 + 74 i 15, KUB 41.8 i 16, KUB 43.37 ii 16, KBo 3.23 rev. 8 (OH/NS), KBo 6.3 iv 28 (OH/NS), KBo 10.45 i 32, KBo 20.28 obv. 18, KBo 27.136 rev. 3, 2 Mašt iii 22, VBoT 1:14 (MH/MS): probably with *-(y)a* “and” *l̃-na* KBo 17.4 ii 3 (OS).

ergative *l̃-an-za* KUB 24.2 i 10 in *kinuna-tta šanezziš waršulaš* ^{GIŠ}ÉRIN-*anza* *l̃-an-za kallišdu* “Now let the sweet odor, the cedar (and) the oil summon you”.

genitive *l̃-aš* KUB 35.84 ii? 7.

locative *l̃-i* KUB 8.67 iv? 7, KUB 32.74 iii 2, KUB 45.47 ii 14.

instrumental KBo 10.45 ii 15, KBo 12.96 i 9, KBo 14.100 obv. 13, KUB 7.41 + ii 15, KUB 39.15 iv (1), KUB 54.49 obv. 7, KUB 54.55 obv.? 3, KUB 57.66 iii 6, KUB 60.121 obv. 10, 13, 15 (Popko, AoF 18:240), FHL 185:5?.

ablative (including instrumental abl.) *l̃-az* KUB 32.74 iii 4, KUB 44.44:7, KUB 59.66 iii 8, 12, KUB 60.11 obv. 5, *l̃-za* KBo 11.32 obv. 23.

A rare plural is written *l̃.HI.A* KBo 8.66:5 and KUB 32.53 right column 11.

Since the form *l̃-na* stands for *l̃-na*, there is no evidence from the phonetic compliments to indicate the final consonant of the word. All that can be elicited from this evidence is that the word was neuter,

¹⁾ Dedicated to my longtime colleague and dear friend, Professor Hans G. Güterbock, a master of virtually every area of Hittite and Anatolian studies and the first Hittitologist to seriously explore the sources of vegetable oil according to Hittite texts: see Güterbock 1968. Today, May 27, 1994, in his 86th birthday. – I wish to thank Professor H. Craig Melchert of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Professor Bill Darden of The University of Chicago for valuable advice on the Proto-Indo-European aspects of this problem.

²⁾ Rüster and Neu 1989 sign no.72, also read *IÀ*.

³⁾ Unteil I am convinced that the same word underlay not only *l̃*, but also *UZU.l̃*, *l̃.GIŠ* and *l̃* ^{GIŠ}*SERDUM*, I will only use phonetic compliments on the simple form *l̃*.

and that its nom.-accus. sg. ended in *-an*, which could reflect either an *a*-stem or an *n*-stem.

Although it remains to be proven that the same Hittite word underlay *Ì* and *UZU.Ì*, it appears from the "resolved" writing *UDU-aš Ì-an kitta* "fat of a sheep lies" KUB 17.10 iv 29 that the more common *Ì.UDU* can also stand for a genitival construction of which the nomen regens was *Ì-an*. This evidence is supplemented by KBo 17.105 ii, where *Ì.UDU* in line 27 is referred to in line 34 as *Ì-an*. Alongside of this, there is evidence that *appuzzi* was a Hittite reading of *Ì.UDU*⁴) especially in the sense of Akkadian *ḥimṣu* "fatty tissue around the intestines".⁵)

The evidence for the Hittite reading of *Ì* begins with the Middle Hittite Hurro-Hittite bilingual composition whose hand copies have been published in KBo 32 and the publication of whose edition by E. Neu we are still awaiting as I write these lines. It therefore remains to be seen what Neu will do with the critical passages in that official edition. But he has treated the relevant passages preliminarily in Neu 1988 18.

The passages in question read as follows: (Hurr.) *šu-ul-lu-ú-up-ri e-er-pí-né-eš e-ep-ḥé-e-ni / ta-la-aḥ-ḥu-u-um : ta-la-aḥ-ḥu-u-um e-ep-ḥé-e-ni / ḥa-a-šar-re pu-ú-zi-ḥu-um : pu-ú-zi-ḥu-um ḥa-a-šar-re na-aḥ-ḥa-ap ú-la-a-nu-u-um* = "A dog pulled a *šullubri*-loaf out of the oven. Out of the oven he pulled it, and dipped it in oil. In oil he dipped it, and sat down, and ate it" KBo 32.14 iv 9-12 = (Hittite) ^{NINDA} *kugullan UR.GI₇-aš UDUN-niya piran arḥa pittenut / parā-an-kan ḥuittiat UDUN-niyaz n-an-kan Ì-i / anda šuniat ša-ak-ni-an-kan anda / šuniat n-aš-za ešat n-an adanna daiš* "A dog ran off with a *kugulla*-loaf from in front of the oven. Out of the oven he pulled it, and dipped it in oil. In *šakni* he dipped it, and sat down, and began to eat it" KBo 32.14 iii 9-12 (Hurro-Hitt. bilingual text "Song of Release", MH/MS), cf. Neu 1988 18; (Hurr.) *ka-mi-e-né-eš ka₄-ak-ka₄-ri ta-li-i-ia e-ep-ḥé-ni-ta-an ta-la-aḥ-ḥu-um e-ep-ḥé-e-ni ḥa-šar-re pu-ú-zi-ḥu-um / pu-ú-zi-ḥu-up ḥa-a-šar-re na-aḥ-ḥa-ap ú-la-a-nu-u-um* KBo 32.14 rev. 23-27 = (Hittite) *ḥilušiš-kan* ^{NINDA} *kugullan UDUN-niyaz para šallannai parā-an-kan UDUN-yaz ḥuittiat / [n-an-ka]n anda Ì-i šuniat šakni-an-kan anda šuniat n-aš-za ešat n-an adanna daiš* "A *ḥilušī*-animal dragged a *kugulla*-loaf out of the oven. Out of the oven

⁴) See HW² 1:193 f. with earlier literature, and HED 1:103 f. ("animal fat, tallow").

⁵) CAD sub voce *ḥimṣu*.

it dragged it and dipped [it] in oil. In *šakni* it dipped it, and sat down and began to eat it” KBo 32.14 rev. 28–29, on the Hurrian version of these lines see also Wilhelm, Fs Heger (1992) 670 who translates “Das *Kamē*-Tier zog ein *kak-kari*-Brot aus dem Ofen, aus dem Ofen zog es es” with no substantial difference in meaning; here Hitt. ^{NINDA}*kugullan* translates not Hurrian *šullubri*, but *kakkari*, and again the same Hurrian verb *puziḫum/puziḫup* is rendered by two different, although virtually synonymous Hittite verbs, *parā šallanai-* and *parā ḫuittiya-*.

Neu correctly observes that the Hurrian version uses *ḫašarre* in both clauses, but in the second clause of each of these two passages the Hittite version changes from *l̄-i* to *ša-ak-ni* which he takes as a sg. loc. of *šakkar* “dung”. It is, of course, not impossible that the Hittite translator should vary from the verbatim repetition in the Hurrian. We saw this in the rendering of Hurrian e-ep-ḫé-e-ni / ta-la-aḫ-ḫu-u-um : ta-la-aḫ-ḫu-u-um e-ep-ḫé-e-ni by Hittite *piran arḫa pit-tenut* / *parā-an-kan ḫuittiat*. But examples such as the latter do not go so far as to introduce expressions which are in no way synonymous. For this reason we must reject the interpretation of *ša-ak-ni* in the bilingual as a form of *šakkar* “dung”. The first possibility which comes to mind is that *ša-ak-ni* is simply another writing of *l̄-i*, and that this provides us with valuable evidence for the Hittite reading of *l̄*. The failure to write **l̄-ni* should not be allowed as an objection, since other words ignore the consonantal element regularly in the phonetic complement for the locative singular (e.g. *ŠU-i* not **ŠU-ri* for *kiššari*), and because scribes may have wished to avoid writing NI-NI.

Supporting evidence of a very strong sort is found in the phrase *šaknaš paršur* which describes a dish set before the king and queen in the course of religious ceremonies. This phrase, sometimes abbreviated as *šaknaš* “(stew/soup) of (i.e., containing) oil/fat” is certainly simply the syllabic equivalent of the exceedingly common logogram TU₇.l̄ “stew/soup of oil”, which is likewise presented to the royal couple. The examples of the syllabic writing are: [...] / TU₇ *ša-ak-na-a-aš tianzi* “[...] they set out a stew/soup made with oil” KBo 21.107 ii 8–9 (fest.), although Otten (StBoT 17:17 n.11) considers this passage unclear, it does seem to exclude his taking the genitive *šaknaš* in the following examples with what precedes it, “men of the table of impurity”; Puhvel, Fs Laroche 302 shares Otten’s incorrect interpretation; LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}BANSUR *ša-ak-na-aš paršur* LUGAL-*i ti-anzi* “The table-men place the stew made of oil in front of the king” KUB 10.60:1–2; similarly [ANA?] ^dIM U ^dWašezziLi LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR *ša-ak-na-a-aš* (scil. *paršur*) *tianzi* KBo 20.33 obv. 7

(fest., OH?/MS); KBo 22.195 ii! 5 (KI.LAM fest., OH/MS); KBo 25.20 obv. 6 (fest., OS). Compare LÚ.MEŠ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR TU₇.Ì *tianzi* passim, e.g., KBo 17.88 + KBo 24.116 ii 14, KUB 1.17 iii 28 (both EZEN ITU), KUB 2.5 ii 18 (*ANDAḪŠUM*), KBo 17.75 iii 18 (EZEN *tethesnaš*), KUB 25.3 iv 17 and KUB 25.9 iv 18 (both Great Festival of Arinna), KUB 10.21 iii 15 (fest.).

A second line of support for the reading of Ì-i as *šakni* is the word *šaknuwant-*. Of the occurrences of forms of *šaknuwant-* some clearly mean something like “defiled”, but others have always seemed incongruent with this meaning and now seem to me emphatically different. And, although the verbal substantive *šaknumar* points to the existence of a verb **šaknu-*, it seems more likely to me that all occurrences of *šaknuwant-* known from published texts can be better explained as adjectival derivatives in *-want-* from a nominal base, in some cases *šakn-* from *šakkar* “dung”, and in the rest *šakn-* from **šakna-* “fat”. Thus I would posit *šaknuwant-* A “defiled” (literally, “having dung”) and *šaknuwant-* B “oily, fatty” (literally “having oil/fat”).

The following are examples of *šaknuwant-* A “defiled”: (1) modifying persons: *n^{aš} DINGIR.MEŠ-aš NINDA ḫarši^{DUG} išpantuzzi maninkurwan ša-ak-nu-wa-an-za šaliga* “(If) he as an unclean person approaches the thick bread (and) libation bowl of the gods” KUB 13.4 iii 79–80 (instr., MS/NS), ed. Suel, Direktif Metni 70 ff.; *MUNUS-T[UM-y]a^{aš}wa^{aš}kan ša-ak-nu-w[a-a]n-za ŠÀ É.DINGIR-LIM pait* “A woman (who was) impure (through menstruation?) went into the temple” KUB 16.42 obv. 32 (oracle question, NH); (They take cheeses and hurl them at each other,) *nu GA.KIN.AG EMŠU šuppaēš* [^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA(?)]/[*az*]zikanzi *ša-ak-nu-wa-an-te-eš-ma [U]L adanzi UL a-a-ra* “The consecrated/pure [priests(?)] eat the cheese (and) rennet; but the impure ones do not eat; it isn’t allowed” KUB 45.49 rev. iv 8–9, ed. StBoT 15:29; *UN.MEŠ-tar^{aš}pat^{aš}kan kuit ša-ak-nu-wa-an-te-eš₁₇ anda šalikiškir* “Because the above mentioned impure people intruded upon (the utensils of the deity)” KUB 22.70 rev. 51–52 (oracle question, NH), ed. THeth. 6:94 f.; similar *UN.MEŠ-tar^{aš}pat^{aš}kan kuit ša-ak-nu-wa-an anda šalikiškir* *ibid.* rev. 54–55; [...] *apedani GE₆-anti šaknuwanza* ^{LÚ}*šankunnišša kuiš* ^{MUNUS}*katrišša ANA EN.SISKUR.SISKUR anda weriyanteš ešir* “Both the impure priest and the *katra-* women who have been summoned in that night to the client, (go off to their houses.)” KUB 32.133 rev. iv 1–2 (transfer of DINGIR-GE₆), cf. Kronasser, Schw.Gottheit 59 f. (tr. “der Unreine und der Priester”).

(2) modifying gods, i.e., their images: [...] *ša-ak-nu-wa-an-ti-ya-*

wa-kán ANA DINGIR-LIM [...] “and to the defiled (statue of the deity)” KUB 18.24:17 (oracle).

(3) modifying objects: ^{DUG}*tiššallin-wa ŠA MU.3.KAM ša-ak-nu-wa-an-da-an/* [I]GI?(or: ME)-*uen nu-wa-kan DUG anda :ti(š)šainta* “We saw/took a *tiššalli*-vessel which had been impure for three years, and they *tiššai*-ed the vessel in” KUB 5.9 obv. 4–5 (oracle, NH), cf. Hoffmann, KZ 98:206 ff. [reading ^{DUG}*tiššalli*- according to Güterbock, orally]. [But if this is read ^{GUD}*tiššallin*, it might mean “we saw/took a *tiššalli*-ox which had been fattened for three years”!]

(4) in a merism with *parkui*:- *namma* ^dUTU-ŠI *ša-ak-nu-wa-an-ta-aš ANA* ^{GIŠ}BANSUR.ĤIA *parkuwayašša ANA* ^{GIŠ}BANSUR.ĤIA EGIR-*an ĥinikzi* “Then His Majesty will bow behind impure and pure tables (and make offerings in the Hittite manner)” KUB 5.6 ii 53–54 (oracle question, NH), similarly *ibid.* ii 61–62; *šarnikzel ANA* GIDIM SUM-*anzi ANA DINGIR-MEŠ* ^{URU}*Halpa-ya šarnikzel ša-ak-nu-wa-an-da-za parkuwayaza* SUM-*anzi* “They will give compensation to the deceased, and they will give compensation from pure things and impure (things) to the deities of Aleppo” KUB 22.35 rev. iii 12–14 (oracle).

With these passages contrast the following, which illustrate *šaknuwant*- B “oily, fatty”: (After someone has placed NINDA. Ĭ.E.DÉ.A on the ground and libated beer [and *limma*?] on the ground, s/he says: O male deities of the Stormgod of Kuliwišna, eat and satisfy your hunger! Drink and satisfy your thirst!) *nušmaš ŠĀ-KUNU ša-ak-nu-an eštu* ZI-KUNU-*mašmaš* [*li?-i*] *m-mu-an-za eštu* “Let your stomach (lit. interior) be filled with fat/oil (i.e., with the NINDA. Ĭ.E.DÉ.A, on this foodstuff see AlHeth 196 f.) and your mind be filled with [*l*] *imma*-beer!” KUB 33.62 iii 12 (rit., MH/MS); restoring on the basis of space and the word *limma* (an alcoholic beverage); the form would be *limm(a) + -want*- “having *limma*”. Both *šaknu(w)an* and *limmuwanza* are adjectival derivatives in *want*-. In both cases a stem vowel of the noun has been elided before the suffix.

[...] × *LÚ-tar* ^{UZU}SA.DU.ĤIA ^{UZU}SA.ĤI.[A...] / [...] *š* *a-ak-nu-wa-an-za* KUB 36.37 iii 8–9 (Ašertu myth); perhaps here rather than in *šaknuwant*- A, because of the presence of ^{UZU}SA in the near context; cf. sub *ħuršakniye*-.

To these two occurrences written syllabically I would also add three others, all from CTH 433.4, a ritual for ^dLAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, in which the word is written semilogographically: (The Old Woman says to the god:) ^dLAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš BELIYA galankanza-za / namma ēš kāša tuel LÚ TEMI SÚR.DÚ.A* ^(MUŠEN) / *appandan antuħšan ANA*

MUŠEN.ĤIA *hūmandāš* / *haluki piyewen nu aruta mannaïminzi* /
 UZU²GAB.HIA *ĭ-anteš* (i. e., *šaknuwanteš*) MUŠEN.ĤIA *ʾu*[*w*]andu
 “O Patron Deity of the Hunting Bag, my lord, be appeased again!
 We have hereby sent your messenger, the falcon, (as?) a captured
 person to all the birds with a message. So let the birds *mannaiminzi*
 with respect to (their) wings, oily with respect to (their) breasts,
 come!” KBo 20. 107+23. 50 ii 20–24. Later in the ritual, they bring in
 TU₇*hur-ti-in* NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A TU₇.GÚ.TUR *taršanta UL taršan-*
tašya “*hur*ti-soup, mutton-fat cake, lentil soup, dried and undried
 (grains)” and place them on the foliage. Whereupon the Old Woman
 says: BELIYA ^dLAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš andaškan miwwaš ĭ-nu-an-ta-aš*
 TU₇ *hurtaš* NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A *šeš ki-i* ^{ma}*taršanta kar-aš nu EGIR-*
pa parna neyanza EGIR-pa / neya “My lord, Patron Deity of the
 Hunting Bag! Spend the night (*šeš-*) on the pleasant, oily *hur*ti-soup
 and mutton-fat cake, but ‘cut’ these toasted (grains)! And as one who
 turns back home, turn back!” *ibid.* iii 19–20, cf. CHD sub *miu-* A
 section a 3'. This passage makes it clear that the Hittite word under-
 lying *ĭ-ant-* was *ĭ-nuant-*, i. e. in my opinion *šaknuwant-* B “oily,
 fatty”. As in KUB 33. 62 iii 12 above, NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A is present in
 the context, and it is this food which supplies the oil or fat which
 makes the use of *šaknuwant-* = *ĭ-nuant-* appropriate.

Two paragraphs later in the same ritual text, the deity is urged to
 come with his brothers, the other gods of the king, and to bring with
 them: MUŠEN.ĤIA [...] / SIG₅[...] *hūm*]anduš *aruta mannāim-*
minz[a] / ^U[²GAB.HIA] *ĭ-antešša* “all the propitious birds, *a. m.*,
 and oily with respect to [(their) breasts]” *ibid.* iii 31–33.

In the CHD *miu-* A article in section a 2' we restored this word
 also in another ritual fragment: (The celebrant deposits NINDA.
 Ĭ.E.DÉ.A for the god and pours KAŠ.GEŠTIN and says:) ^dUTU-*i*
ētšza :mīūn ā[(ntan ša-ku-wa-an-ta-an) ĭ-nuanta]n nu ZI-KA
mīēšdu “O Sungod, eat the pleasant, warm *šakuwantan*, [oil]y(?)
 (food), and may your mood become pleasant!” KUB 46. 52:4–5 with
 dupl. KUB 33. 70 ii 5–6, where we also admitted the possible alterna-
 tive restoration of [NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A-*a*]n. Our preferred restoration
 was based upon the expectation of a word for “oily” in the descrip-
 tion of NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A. But it now seems to me rather that the
 difficult *šakuwantan* itself is a nearly synonymous word derived from
 the same root, **šak-*. Some other examples of *šakuwant-* might
 belong to this root. A *šakuwan* ^{GIŠ}*zuppari* (“torch having oil”) might
 be a torch made of staves wrapped in wool soaked in oil. Cf. KUB
 20. 10 iii 1–6 (fest., OH/NS), Bo 5093 iii 2–5 (StBoT 15:27); KUB

39.88 i 12–13 (rit. for Istar-Pirinkir), KUB 12.55 i 5, on the basis of which we restore KUB 12.57 iv 9 (same tablet as KUB 12.55), cf. KUB 7.14 i 12, w. dupl. IBoT 3.96 i! 6 (ingredients list to Puriyanni's rit., KBo 12.124 iii 18 (rit.); 512/s:1 (StBoT 15:43); Bo 3348 i 7 (StBoT 15:24). A ^{GIŠ}*šammamma* nut, which is an obvious source of oil, is called *šakuwan* in KUB 17.10 ii 15–16 (myth in Tel. myth, OH/OS or MS), translit. Myth. 32. This word has been connected with either the verb *šakuwaye*- “to took, see” or with a verb *šakuwai*- which has finite forms *ša-ku-wa-anzi* and *ša-ku-wa-a-ru* and no certain translation.⁶) What has not been considered until now is the good possibility that what looks like the participle of a verb *šakuwai*- is in fact an adjective in *-want*- based upon **šak(a)*- “oil, fat”.

šaknumar (verbal substantive) shows that a verb *šakn(a/i/u)*- existed. Verbal substantives of the type *dalumar* (< *dala-*) prove that forms in *-umar* do not necessarily indicate the verbal stem ended in *u*. Puhvel (Fs Laroche [1979] 302 f.) has shown that, if the presumed verb were **šaknu-*, such a **šakn-nu-* could have been formed analogously to *ešharnu-* “to make bloody”. He derives *šaknuwant-* from **šakn-want-* „having *šakkar*”. This is certainly the case with *šaknuwant-* A, but since the meaning of KUB 33.62 iii 12 implies that the **šakn-* is associated with NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A and certainly does not mean “defiled”, “filthy” or the like, but rather “filled with (sweet) oil”, we posit a *šaknuwant-* B which means “having **šakna-* ‘fat, oil’”.

Verbs such as *šaknišš-* and *šakniya-*, difficult as they are, probably do belong to *šakkar/šakn-* “dung, filth”. But one compound verb whose context has a possible association with fat must be considered here, the verb *huršakniye-*. The one passage which clearly has this verb is from the so-called Soldiers' Oath, edited Oettinger 1976 8 f. with comments on page 30. The ritual practitioner places ^{UZU}SA (“tendon”) and salt into the hands of the oath-takers and then throws them into an open flame(?),⁷ saying: *kī-wa-kan* ^{UZU}SA / *maḥḥan ḥašši anda ḥu-ur-ša-ak-ni-e-et-ta* / *MUN-aš-ma-kan* GIM-an *ḥašši anda* / *paršietari* “As this tendon ...s on the brazier, and as the salt (lump) breaks apart on the brazier” KBo 6.34 ii 7–10. Oettinger translates “verschmoren” on page

⁶) Güterbock, Kum. (1946) 68 f.; Goetze, JAOS 69 (1949) 182.; Friedrich, HW (1952) 177 f.; Stefanini, Pud. (1964) 52 n.2; Kronasser, EHS (1966) 503; Hoffner, JAOS 93 (1973) 524 (use of *-za*); Oettinger, *Stammbildung* (1979) 394 f.; Woodard, JAOS 110 (1990) 646–653 (“track down pursue”), Güterbock, Fs Kammenhuber 79.

⁷) The precise meaning of *ḥappina-* is still undetermined.

9, and comments on page 30: "Die Wortbedeutung ist 'zerschmoren' und nicht, wie bisher angenommen, 'bersten' oder 'entzweigerissen werden(?)', denn Sehnen reagieren auf dem Herd nur durch Verschmoren bzw. Verkohlen." He translates *paršiettari* "zerprasseln", taking it as a verb denoting sound production rather than one denoting a breaking up. But in analogous Akkadian magic rituals it is the behavior of a lump (*kirbānu*) of salt which is described. And the same Akkadian expression (Sum. LAG = *kirbānu*) is used in the Akkadian-drafted treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Šattiwaza of Mittanni: *akî LAG ṭābtî ana ašrini la niturra* "just like a (dissolved) lump of salt, we shall not return to our places" KBo 1.3 rev. 34 (PD page 54, line 51).⁸⁾ This suggests that *paršiettari* in the Soldiers' Oath too describes the breaking up or dissolving of a lump of salt. And if this is the case with the salt, then the word describing the tendons might also describe the melting of what solid fat might still adhere to the tendon. In any event, it is tempting to see in *huršakniye-* a compound the second element of which is based upon the same root as *šakna-* "oil, fat". Since I am not a specialist in Indo-European linguistics, I will leave it to more qualified persons to decide the etymology.

Finally, one must set the semantic limits of this word within Hittite itself. Does it denote only vegetable oil, or both vegetable and animal oils? The existence of the word *appuzzi* cautions us against expanding the semantic range of **šak(a)-/šakna-* from the vegetable to the animal sphere without convincing evidence. The Hurro-Hittite bilingual passage requires nothing more than vegetable oil. Likewise the *šaknāš paršūr* (TU₇.I). In KUB 33.62 iii 12 the stomach (literally, interior) of the god who eats NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A would contain Ĭ, but since Ehelolf once adduced a passage showing that one of the ingredients of NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A was mutton fat, would that mean that *šakna-* was also animal fat? I personally think this pushes the evidence too far. The birds of KBo 20.107 + 23.50 ii 20–24 which are Ĭ-(*nu*)*anteš* (*šaknuwanteš*) with respect to their ^{UZU}GAB.ḪI.A might be birds having lots of self-produced oils on their feathers. But although this is not vegetable oil, it is also not "fat" in the narrow sense of fatty tissue. Rather it is body oils. When the passages containing *šakuwant-* are added, we have vegetable oil (perhaps olive oil) used to soak the woolen rags wrapped around a staff to make a *šakuwan zuppari*, we have the natural oil produced by the *šammamma* nut, and we have the oil in NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A.

⁸⁾ See CAD K 403 sub *kirbānu* 2 a.

In summary, the Indo-European inherited word based upon the root **sak* which appears in the noun **šakna-* and in the two *-want-* derived adjectives *šaknuwant-* and *šakuwant-* “oily, having oil” and possibly also in the compound verb *huršakniye-* “to dissolve into oil(?)” denoted (in Anatolia at least) “oil” rather than solid adipose tissue, regardless of whether the oil was derived from plants or animals.

Author's addendum

The phonetic complements of *ḫ* allow the nom.-acc. to be either **šakan* (declined like *laman* “name”) or **šaknan*. Regarding the question of whether **šagan* or **šakna-* (= *ḫ*) can denote solid animal fat, i.e., adipose tissue, the following passage is relevant: *takku UR.GI, ḫ ŠAḫ karāpi BEL ḫ wimiya(zi) n-an-kan kuenzi/n-ašta ḫ-an šarḫuwantaz-šet [KAR]-ezzi* “If a dog eats up lard (and) the owner of the oil/fat finds (it) and kills it, he shall retrieve the oil/fat from its stomach” KBo 6.3 iv 27–28 (laws § 90) – both the interchangeability of *ḫ.ŠAḫ* and *ḫ* and the ability to retrieve the *ḫ* from the dog’s stomach indicate that a solid animal fat is meant. If simple waterproofing of the *tuppuš* containers, rather than a magical or cursing procedure, is indicated by *tuppuš ša-kán-da šunnaš* “She (i.e., the queen) filled (i.e., caulked) baskets with oil/fat/grease, (placed her sons in them, and launched them into the river)” KBo 22.2 obv. 2 (Zalpa text, OS), ed. StBoT 17:6f., comments p. 16–18; for oil/resin used to caulk boats see CAD Š sub *šamnu* c 1’, then a more solid form is also indicated instead of “dung”.

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The Stem of the Hittite Word for "House"

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Historische Sprachforschung / Historical Linguistics*, 1995, 108. Bd., 2. H. (1995), pp. 192-194

Published by: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (GmbH & Co. KG)

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The Stem of the Hittite Word for “House”

In an article published in 1986¹⁾, Erich Neu convincingly discussed genitive constructions which stand in such a close nexus that the scribes placed the determinative which ought to belong on the head word on the preceding genitive instead. He also adduced the form ^{LÚ}*utniyašha-* as a “morphologische Verschmelzung” of *^{LÚ}*utneyaš išha-* “lord of the land”, which just takes the closeness of the nexus one step further. The ^{LÚ}*utniyašha-* was also discussed by Beal, who equated with the EN KUR-*TI*.²⁾ The word is also written ^{LÚ}KUR-*yašha-* in KUB 13.1 iv 10, the *BEL MADGALTI* instructions, not noted by Neu or Beal.

Recently in a duplicate which I discovered to a well-known ritual text, a resulting correspondence raises the possibility of either another example of this genitive construction with head noun *išha-*, or a simple genitival phrase, but with an unusual stem of the genitive noun.

In the following transliteration of the duplicates I have printed the principal points of variance in boldface.

That *hapalki-* is a syllabic equivalent of AN.BAR in Hittite has been long known, but additional evidence as specific as this is always welcome. The restoration *ša-an[-ah-**hi**]-ir* is likely, but still uncertain. No other good candidate presents itself.

Although both texts are NH copies, KUB 51.56 seems to preserve older spellings and syntax. This can be seen, e.g., in KUB 29.1's modernization of *šaⁿ eš-* (mid.) “to sit down” to *zaⁿkan eš-*, *e-ša-an-ta-ti* to *e-ša-an-ta-ri*, *n^ešaⁿ* to *n^at^azaⁿkan*, and *kattišmi* to *kattan^amašmaš*. Since I have restored longer lacunae in KUB 51.56 from KUB 29.1, there may have been other archaisms in KUB 51.56 which we cannot see.

By far the most interesting variant in KUB 51.56 is in line 4. KUB 29.1's text leads us to expect a wording “the lords of the house”. The

¹⁾ Neu, Erich. “Zur unechten Nominalkomposition im Hethitischen” in *o-o-pe-ro-si: Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*, p. 114 f.

²⁾ Beal, Richard, H. *The Organisation of the Hittite Military*. Texte der Hethiter 20, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1992. 439 f.

KUB 29.1 iii 39-48

KUB 51.56 rev. 1-10

DINGIR.MEŠ-wa 'GUNNI' da-a-ir
 nu-wa-ra-an [ku-u]n-na-ni-it (40)
 hu-u-ra-i-er na-an AN.BAR-it ša-an
 [-ah-ḫi]-ir (41) nu-uš-ša-an DIN-
 GIR.MEŠ e-ša-an-ta-ri nu-za-an É-aš
 BE-LU^{MEŠ}-TIM (42) LUGAL-uš
 MUNUS.LUGAL-ša DAM.MEŠ pa-
 ah-ḫu-wa-ar-šeš / e-ša-an-ta-ri na-at-
 za-kán ša-a-ša-aš / ma-ah-ḫa-an ku-
 un-ki-iš-kán-ta-ri

nu-za-an DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ É-
 TIM e-ša-an-ta-ri nu-za-an ^{GIŠ}túh-ḫa-
 na / ki-it-ta-ri kat-ta-an-ma-aš-ma-aš
 ša-ḫu-wa-an / ki-it-ta-ri nu me-ma-al
 ki-it-ta GUNNI / te-ez-zi a-pa-a-at-
 wa-mu-kán a-aš-šu

(1) [nu-wa-r]a-an ku-un-na-ni-i[it
 hu-u-ra-i-er] (2) [n]a-an ḫa-pal-ki-it
 š[a-an-ah-ḫi-ir] (3) [nu-]wa-aš-ša-an
 DINGIR.MEŠ e-š[a-an-ta-ri]

§ (4) [nu-u]š-ša-an pé-e-ri pé-e-r[i-ia-
 aš iš-ḫe-eš] (5) [LU]GAL-uš MUNUS.
 LUGAL-aš-ša DAM.ME[š pa-ah-ḫu-
 wa-ar-še-eš] (6) e-ša-an-ta-ti n[c-ša-an
 ša-a-ša-aš ma-ah-ḫa-an ku-un-ki-iš-
 kán-ta-ri]

§ (7) [nu-u]š-ša-an DUMU!MU[NUS.
 MEŠ É-TIM e-ša-an-ta-ri] (8) [nu-
 u]š-ša-an ^G[iš-túh-ḫa-na ki-it-ta-ri] (9)
 [kat-t]i-iš-š[i-ma ša-ḫu-wa-an ki-it-
 ta-ri] (10) [nu] me-ma[-al ki-it-ta
 GUNNI te-ez-zi] (11) [a-pa-a-at-wa-
 mu-kán a-aš-šu]

first *pé-e-ri* in the line is definitely not a genitive, but a locative. It can be explained as an element which has been omitted from KUB 29.1, either because it seemed self-evident to the scribe, or because he suspected dittography in his archetype.³⁾ The evidence of the duplicate requires an atypical genitive **pēriyaš*, and with it an alternate stem **pēri-*, not just **per-*. The usual genitive is built on the stem *parn-*, *pár-na-aš*.

Although there is no convincing alternative interpretation of the variant in KUB 51.56, I would like to point out that *pár-na-aš* EN-*i* in KBo 15.34 iii 5 and *pár-na-aš iš-ḫi-i pá-r-na-aš iš-ḫa-aš-ša-ri* in KUB 33.62 ii 18 provide evidence that *BĒL BĪTI* was also read with the more usual genitive *pár-na-aš*. It is interesting that neither *pár-na-aš* EN-*i* nor *pár-na-aš iš-ḫi-i pá-r-na-aš iš-ḫa-aš-ša-ri* have the LÚ or MUNUS determinative.

The syllabic evidence to date for *parmaš išḫa-* is no earlier than Middle Hittite, whereas KUB 51.56, although it is a NH copy, rests upon a clearly Old Hittite archetype. I would conclude that **pēriyaš išḫa-* was known already in Old Hittite as a syllabic reading of EN

³⁾ For *BE-EL É-TIM* immediately juxtaposed to *É-ri* (**perī*) see KBo 13.165 ii 10.

É-*TIM* and *BE-EL* É-*TIM*, and that the equivalent *parnaš išha* came in later.

As H.C. Melchert has called to my attention, the same inherited *i*-containing form of the genitive is well known from *kardiyaš*, the regular genitive form of *ker/kard-* "heart".⁴⁾ The form *kar-ta-aš-ma* in VBoT 58 i 13 (OH/NS) claimed for the genitive by Kronasser,⁵⁾ is actually by context rather an allative *kartašma* "to/in their heart(s)", as correctly noted in Friedrich, HW 103. With this vanishes the only claimed example of gen. *kart/daš* in Hittite. The same vocalization of the gen. of the Luwian word for "heart", *zartias*, occurs in ALEPPO 3, 1 § 1-2.⁶⁾ OH gen. *pēri(y)aš* "of the house" is the same inherited formation on a root noun.

Although I consider the restoration *pé-e-r[i-ja-aš iš-he-eš]* more likely, one cannot totally exclude the possibility of a formation analogous to those discussed by Neu: **pēriyašheš* with the same meaning as *pēriyaš išheš*. The LÚ determinative (LÚ *periyaš išha-* or LÚ *periyašha-*) may have been omitted because the individuals referred to in this passage were both men and women: the king, the queen and the secondary wives.

[Nachtrag: On the stem involved in gen. *kardiyaš* see also N. Oettinger, "Griech. ὁστέον, heth. *kulēi* und ein neues Kollektivsuffix", in: H. Hettrich et al. (Hrsg.), *Verba et structurae*, Fs. für Klaus Struck, 1995. – H. H.]

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⁴⁾ On which see F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I. (Labarna II.)*, (München 1938), 93-96.

⁵⁾ H. Kronasser, *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache I* (Wiesbaden, 1966) 161.

⁶⁾ A. Morpurgo Davies and J. D. Hawkins, "A Luwian Heart" in *Studi de storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, ed. F. Imparati (Firenze, 1988) 169-182, especially 171 f.

Oil in Hittite Texts

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Source: *The Biblical Archaeologist*, Jun., 1995, Vol. 58, No. 2, Anatolian Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Neve (Jun., 1995), pp. 108-114

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

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Oil in Hittite Texts

By Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Anatolia is a vast country with varied climatic, geomorphical and soil conditions—from Mediterranean regions growing olives, vines and citrus, through the semi-arid zones of the central anatolian plateau which yields grains, to the mountainous regions in the east and the north which serve mainly as pasture lands (Singer 1987).

In parallel to Itamar Singer's geographical observation, Hittite texts reveal a rich variety of food plants utilized by the inhabitants of this region in the Late Bronze Age (Hoffner 1974, ch. 4). Of these, oil-bearing plants certainly numbered among the most significant. Singer's article, "Oil in Anatolia according to Hittite Texts," only represents a summarizing of the work of others, yet he has given a clear picture of the main lines of what the Hittite texts reveal about the use of oil.

Previous Research

Güterbock offers (1968) the only systematic discussion of oil and oil-bearing plants in Hittite Anatolia. Güterbock's primary contribution was to demonstrate that *GIŠšamama*, which had been supposed by many Hittitologists to be the word for "sesame," was in fact a variety of

nut, and that the most probable candidate for "sesame" was *šapšama*. But along the way Güterbock also signaled other words for oil-producing plants—the Akkadogram *GIŠSERDU* "olive" and *GIŠleti*. Hoffner's 1974 study mentioned oil, especially olive oil, but did not exploit the textual evidence.

Words for "Oil," "Fat," and Similar Products

Philologists dealing with a dead language are at the mercy of their documentation and the limitations of their writing systems. In the case of Hittite, they are also often at the mercy of Sumerian terminology. Since in most cases Hittite words for "oil," "fat," "lard," "tallow," or "grease" are concealed behind logograms derived from the Sumerian language, philologists cannot be sure that the Hittites themselves used the same word or linguistically related words in their own language to designate types of oil, fat, or grease.

Recently it was my good fortune to discover the Hittite reading of one of the primary terms in the Hittite texts for oil or fat.¹ It is the neuter noun *šagan/šagna*-. Its occurrences indicate that it can represent either "oil" proper, i.e., a more fluid substance which in the case of an animal source would be the product of rendering its fat, and solid "fat" or adipose tissue. Two other syllabically

Excavators unearthed the voluminous archives of the Hittites at locations scattered throughout their capital city: Building A, pictured here, in the fortress area Büyükkale offered the best preserved clay tablets. Hittitologists remain occupied with reading and interpreting this vast legacy: recently the author discovered one of the primary Hittite terms for oil or fat. Photograph from the Beegle Collection.

written Hittite words, *UZUappuzzi*,² and *(UZU)kuzzaniyant*,³ have been suggested as the equivalent of the Sumerogram *UZU.Ì* and as designations of solid animal fat.

Of the Sumerian words used as ideograms or logograms, the most common is simple *Ì*. It seems to have been the broadest designation, capable of indicating either oil or fat, products of either vegetable or animal source. Vegetable oils of all kinds could also be indicated by the compound Sumerogram *Ì.GIŠ*, literally "wood/tree oil." Olive oil is indicated by the compound *Ì.GIŠSERDUM* and possibly also by simple *Ì.GIŠ*. Sweet (i.e., perfumed?) oil was *Ì.DÜG.GA*, and butter (or ghee) was *Ì.NUN*.⁴

The succession of signs *UZU + Ì* can be read either *UZU.Ì*, with the first sign as a determinative, or *UZU.Ì*. In either case the initial component *UZU* "flesh" probably indicates that the substance was more solid than liquid. In at least one passage *UZU.Ì* clearly denotes human flesh (*KBo* 16.29 [+] *KUB* 31.104 ii 19–20). This meaning is clear also in HT1 iii 32–35, the ritual of Ašhella (Dinçol 1985). In law §80 the *UZU.Ì* is the meat of a dead animal as opposed to its hide (*KBo* 6.3 iv 9–10 [Friedrich 1959], latest English translation by Hoffner 1995). *UZU.Ì* can also mean one's own "flesh" in the sense of "one's flesh and blood," i.e., a blood relative (Goetze 1933:112–114 ii 8–13 restoring [*UZU.Ì*] from *ibid.* ii 2).

Oil in Hittite texts

Oil was one of the minimal essentials in ancient Near Eastern life. This has been

noted in connection with ancient Israel, but it is also true in Hittite Anatolia. That being the case, oil is included among the elementary needs of the poor which compassionate people are enjoined to meet. Several texts whose composition goes back to the Old Hittite period mention this (Archi 1979:40–44): to the hungry give bread, to the thirsty water, to the naked clothes (TÚG), to the dried out/desiccated ([*ha-t*]i-eš-ša-an-ti)⁵ give oil (Ì-an = šagnan). The same situation is reflected in a passage from the new Hurro-Hittite bilingual, where the god Tešhub is poor and must be helped by his fellow deities. They give food to the hungry god, clothes to the naked god, and oil to the *hūrant*-god.⁶

Sources of Oil among the Hittites

Oil in Hittite texts can be from an animal or a vegetable source. Oil from plants includes olive oil, sesame oil, cypress (or juniper) oil/resin, and oil extracted from nuts. Oil from animals includes lard (i.e., oil/fat from pigs) and sheep fat.⁷

Animal Fat and Its Value and Uses Swine Fat = Lard

That animal fat was valuable is clearly indicated by §90 of the Hittite law code which specifies that, if a dog eats lard (Ì ŠAḪ “oil/fat of a pig”), the owner of the lard is justified in killing the animal and retrieving the lard from the dog’s stomach. This same law also proves that Ì ŠAḪ was solid and durable enough to have value even after having been subjected to partial digestion in the stomach of a dog. Furthermore, according to the wording of the law, the dog does not lap up (Hittite *laplīpa-*) the lard, but eats or devours (*karap-*) it. In an instructions text in Old Hittite handwriting, “high-quality lard” (Ì ŠAḪ DÜG.GA) is mentioned at the head of a list of foodstuffs: cheeses, rennet, wheat flour, and bread.⁸ Lard was considered a tasty dish even for gods and humans as can be seen from its

inclusion alongside of honey, cheese, rennet, sweet milk, and other foodstuffs in two other Old Hittite rituals specifying offerings to the gods.⁹

Sheep Fat or Tallow

Sheep fat or tallow,¹⁰ is placed in or on a ^{KUŠ}kurša-, which has been interpreted as either a “hunting bag” or a “fleece,” which in turn is suspended from an evergreen *eya*-tree as a symbol of the prosperity given by the gods.¹¹

That Ì.UDU was a solid substance is also clear from the fact that it is used alongside wax (DUḪ.LĀL) to make magic figurines (Goetze 1938:8 i 49–50, 12 ii 14–15). The purpose of making the figurines out of wax and sheep tallow is that they will represent evil and will be destroyed in the course of the subsequent ritual. The exact manner of destroying the symbols is unclear. The verb in the ritual text is *arḫa šallanu-*, which probably means “to melt down” (Goetze 1938:74).

Butter/Ghee

Butter or ghee (Ì.NUN) was used in the analogical speeches in the Old Hittite incantations: “As (this) honey is sweet, as (this) butter is soft/mild, so may the



A pottery boar's head rhyton (ca. 6.5 cm high) from Göltepe, dating a century or two prior to the development of the Hittite state. The Hittites distinguished pig's lard from sheep's fat. Lard was a valuable commodity and a tasty dish, offered up even to the gods. Sheep's fat was used alongside wax to make figurines that could be destroyed, probably melted, in apotropaic rituals.

mind of Telipinu likewise be sweet and mild!” (KUB 1710 i 25–27; Hoffner 1990). The relative price of butter or ghee is considered below under “Fine Oil,” while its use is noted under “Anointing/Rubbing Horses” and “Burning Oil.”

Oil-bearing Plants

Güterbock enumerated the various oil-bearing plants known to the Hittites, which included the olive, sesame, and several plants which are probably nuts.¹²

Olive Oil

Olive oil did not need to be imported, since a Middle Hittite land grant text mentions vineyards, olive trees, and fig trees on the estate of a man named Purlisari in the town of Šayanuwanda (Riemschneider 1958). Another text describes a certain area in Kizzuwatna as containing thirty IKU of fields, two vineyards, and three hundred olive trees (KUB 40.2 obv. 36; Hoffner 1974:116–118). Much earlier in an Old Hittite incantation, there is an appeal to the analogy of the olive holding oil in its heart, the grape holding wine in its heart, and the god holding goodness in his heart toward the king and his land (KUB 1710 ii 19–21; Hoffner 1990).

Olives, figs, and grapes (or raisins) are often mentioned together among materials for rituals. Olive oil (Ì ^{GIŠ}SERDUM) is sometimes described as *pittakwan* (e.g. KBo 5.2 i 12, ii 8) which Goetze (1962:33; CHD s.v. *pittakwa-*, *pittakwant*) determined to mean “plain,” that is, without additives. The same adjective “plain, without additive” is used to describe bread, stew (TU₇), meat, and hay.¹³ Ì(^{GIŠ})SERDUM *pīt-tal-wa-an* is therefore “plain (i.e., virgin) olive oil” (KBo 5.2 i 12, ii 8).

Olives were trodden or crushed with a large stone and the pulp transferred to wicker baskets and shaken. The baskets acted as strainers, and the oil was collected in jars. The top layer, skimmed off, was called “pure” or “beaten” oil. *Pittakwan* olive oil is most likely this first, cold extraction,

which is lighter, of higher quality. The first extraction is unlike the second and third extractions, which routinely require additives such as salt. For this reason it is called “plain” or “unadulterated.” The Hebrew and Ugaritic expression for this first extraction was *šmn ktt* usually translated as “beaten oil.” Today “virgin olive oil” is the highest quality and draws the highest price.

When olive oil is mentioned alongside breads on lists, the latter are “thin breads” (i.e., *pita*; e.g. *KBo* 9.115+ obv. 10). In some passages a sample (*anaḥi*) of “thin bread” is dipped in olive oil and placed on the hearth (*KUB* 4547 i 48-50). The same verb (*šuniya-*) for “dipping” the bread in olive oil is used in the Hurro-Hittite bilingual in a passage about a dog who steals a freshly baked loaf of bread from an oven, dips it in oil, sits down, and eats it (Hoffner 1994). In a prayer of Muwatalli II, the cult officiant breaks successively three loaves for the Sun goddess of Arinna, for the Storm god *piḥaššašši*, for Hebat, and for the Storm god of the Sky, dips them in honey and *Ì.DÜG.GA*, and places them on the offering table of the respective deity (*KUB* 646 i 40-56; cf. Pritchard 1969 and Lebrun 1980). When used in rituals, olive oil is associated with “fine/good oil” (*Ì.DÜG.GA*) and honey (*KBo* 5.2 i 12).

Sesame Oil

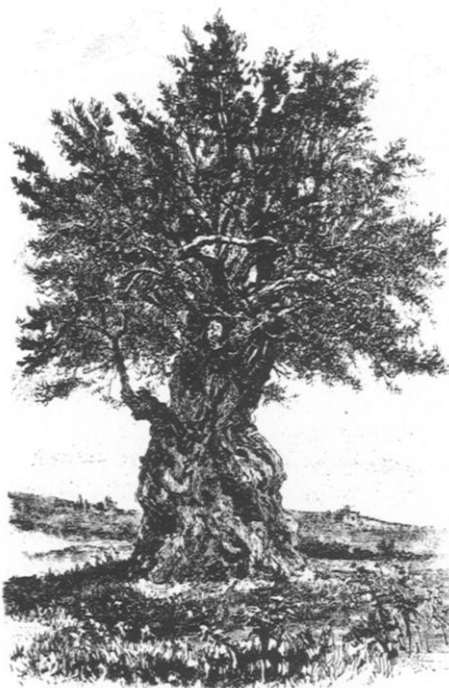
Sesame oil is written either with the Hittite word *šapšama* or logographically as *ŠE.GIŠ.Ì* or *Ì ŠA-AM-ŠA-AM-MI*, but not, as has been recently claimed, also with *Ì.GIŠ.*¹⁴

Cypress oil/resin

Cypress (or juniper) oil/resin (*Ì GIŠ.ŠU.ÜR.MIN*) is an ingredient in a medical ritual to cure someone who has been seized by the demon *DÌM.NUN.ME* (*KBo* 21.20 i 18; Burde 1974:42-46). Since the demon, the treatment, and the Hurrian words pronounced as a spell point to Syria or Northern Mesopotamia, the particular type of oil/resin may have been chosen for this purpose.

“Fine Oil” (*Ì.DÜG.GA*)

This logogram has generally been taken to represent “fine oil,” in the sense of sweet-smelling oil or perfume (Friedrich 1952:277; accepted by Rüster et al. 1989). In general, this interpretation is well supported by references to the cosmetic use of *Ì.DÜG.GA*. In the myth “Song of Hedammu,” the goddess *IŠTAR* bathes,



The Olive tree flourishes in central Anatolia; hence the Hittites were not burdened, like the Egyptians, with the need to import this crucial commodity. Texts mention olive orchards in property inventories, and olives are mentioned in ritual prescriptions.

anoints herself with *Ì.DÜG.GA*, and then goes to meet and seduce Hedammu (*IBoT* 2.135 obv. 5-10; Siegelová 1971). In the price lists of the Old Hittite laws (laws §291) one *zipattani* of *Ì.DÜG.GA* costs two shekels of silver, while the same amount of *Ì ŠAḤ* or *Ì.NUN* costs one shekel. This obviously establishes *Ì.DÜG.GA* as the most expensive of the oils. Two shekels of silver was also the price of two sheep, six goats, or one unweaned calf. Singer 1987 notes that in the same

law (§181) one *zipattani* of fine oil was equivalent in price to eight minas (= 320 shekels) of copper.

In the new Hurro-Hittite bilingual text, the Hurrian *ḫāšari* is “translated” in the Hittite column by both *Ì* and *Ì.DÜG.GA* (Neu 1988:18). The latter translates *ḫāšari* in the passage where Tešub, in dire need, is aided by fellow gods who give him *Ì.DÜG.GA* (*KBo* 32.15 ii 14-15).

In some rituals wine and *Ì.DÜG.GA* are mixed together (*KBo* 21.34 ii 55-56). Since the Hittite word for “wine” (*wiyana-*, Sumerogram *GEŠTIN*) sometimes denotes a cheap wine or vinegar, we can compare the combination of vinegar and oil even today in the seasoning of salads.

One ritual text informs us that *Ì.DÜG.GA* was kept in horns. It mentions six small ox horns of *Ì.DÜG.GA*, three belonging to the king and three to the queen (*KUB* 42.94 i 9-10).

Two interesting uses of *Ì.DÜG.GA* are found in the funerary ritual for deceased royalty (Otten 1958:67ff.; Gurney 1977 and Singer 1987). After the deceased's body was burned on the funeral pyre, his bones were collected and placed to soak in a large silver vessel filled with fine oil (*Ì.DÜG.GA*). After they had soaked in the oil, the bones were removed, wrapped in a fine linen cloth, and placed on a chair or stool. There follow various rites, including animal sacrifices, and then the bones are brought to the mausoleum (called the “Stone House”). It is here that we see the second interesting use of the oil. The text reads: “In the inner room of the mausoleum they spread bedding, take the bones from the chair, and put them on the spread bedding. They place a lamp [weighing ...] shekels, filled with fine oil (*Ì.DÜG.GA*) in front of the bones.” This is a rare example of *Ì.DÜG.GA* used as fuel for a lamp. If it is “perfumed oil,” the odor might have been considered appropriate, as would incense, in a funerary setting.



Libations being poured out for the gods on a basalt orthostat from Malatya. Rock reliefs are the most characteristic form of Hittite imperial art. The representation of the king offering libations is a common motif. Oil may or may not have been involved in these libations, but it certainly found manifold ritual applications. Oil attracts and appeases the gods: one text speaks of “sprinkling” a god’s path, while another mentions a journey with oil, honey, bread, and libation to mollify the mountain gods. Cult statues were anointed with oil as were, presumably, the elite members of the royal establishment. The ritual of royal succession involved anointing, and the horns of animals were apparently anointed with oil prior to sacrifice. *Photographs from Erken Akurkal, The Art of the Hittites.*

Anointing with Oil **Anointing People**

The toilet of the upper classes must be reflected in the treatment of the cult statues of the deities. One text tells how eight representations of the Sun goddess of Arinna—three statues and five solar disks—were bathed and then anointed with oil (KUB 25.14 i,15–16). In a letter of the Hittite king to his mother, he complains that he has no Ì.DÜG.GA for anointing himself (KBo 18.2 rev. 6–7, Hagenbuchner 1989:204f.). In the text of a legal deposition, a man named md]ŠTAR-LÚ gives testimony in which he mentions that a woman gave him oil and instructed him to anoint himself with it when he worshipped the deity.¹⁵ In a letter from the Pharaoh to the King of Arzawa, written in Hittite, the Egyptian monarch speaks of having his servant anoint with oil the head of the woman chosen to become a wife of the king (VBoT 1 obv. 14).

The Hittite king was also anointed with oil as part of the ritual

of accession to the throne and the priesthood of the Sun goddess of Arinna (Pontifex Maximus) (KUB 36.90:15–18; see also Goetze 1957:90; Gurney 1979; Güterbock 1954:17). This custom is also reflected in the rite of the substitute king, who consequently is anointed with the “oil of kingship” (Ì.DÜG.GA LUGAL-UTTI; KUB 24.5 obv. 19 + KUB 9.13 obv. 7; Kümmel 1967:10f., 28). Singer (1987) also quotes an Akkadian letter written by Hattušili III to the Assyrian king in which Hattušili complains that the Assyrian monarch failed to send him the traditional coronation gifts, which included ceremonial garments and fine oil for anointing (Goetze 1940:27ff.).

An entry in a tablet catalogue describes a ritual performed by a woman physician named Azzari. On the occasion when a commander was going to lead troops into battle, the physician consecrated Ì.DÜG.GA by pronouncing a spell over it and then used it to anoint the commander, his horses, his chariot(s), and all his

weapons (KUB 30.42 i 8–14; Laroche 1971:162).

In an oracle inquiry, it was determined that the deity was angry because the temple personnel had neglected or omitted to give to the deity Ì.GIŠ and Ì.DÜG.GA É.GAL *huhḫaš* “Ì.DÜG.GA of the palace of the grandfather” (KBo 24.122:20–21).

Anointing/Rubbing Horses

In the first tablet of the Kikkuli horse-training manual, trainers are described as anointing/rubbing (the verb is *išk(iya)-*) horses with Ì.NUN (butter, ghee) on the fifth day, after four days of daily washing (KUB 1.13+ iii 4–9, Kammenhuber 1961). The use of “butter” or “ghee” for this purpose seems strange.

Anointing Horns

In the “Song of Ullikummi,” a myth of the Kumarbi cycle, oil (Ì.DÜG.GA) is used to anoint the horns of the bulls which draw the cart of the god Tešhub (KUB 36.12 iii 3–4, 19–20; Güterbock 1952 and Hoffner 1990). Apparently the horns of male animals were also anointed

with oil prior to sacrificing the animals. This practice is clearly documented in the case of goats (*KBo*11.32 obv. 22–24) and rams (*KBo*14.21 i 28–31).

Anointing Objects

Similarly, in a ritual text, oil is brought to the deity so that he may lubricate his chariot with it (*HT* 1 ii 34–38). In a purification ritual, animal-shaped vessels¹⁶ are overturned in the river and washed, then oil is dripped into the river, and finally the washed vessels are anointed (*išk-*) with oil (*KUB* 30.38 i 22–27). Applying oil to the vessels after they have been washed is analogous to the practice of humans anointing themselves after bathing. In another text, oil is smeared on a door (*KUB* 9.31 ii 36).

Oil in Daily Life

Burning Oil

One of the principal uses of oil in ancient times was as a fuel for lamps or torches. The texts, however, offer little evidence for this. Only recently, with the discovery of the syllabic writing of the principal Hittite word for “oil,” *šagn-*, has it become possible to recognize that the meaning of the adjective *šakuwant-* frequently modifying torches (^{GI}*šuppāri*) is “oil-soaked” (Hoffner 1994). The construction of a Hittite torch is unclear. It might have consisted of a stick with the upper end wrapped in cloth, in which case the cloth would have been soaked in oil as fuel.

Lamps were called (^{DUG})*šašanna-*, (Ehelolf 1936:190–194; Friedrich 1952:188), written also with the logograms ^{DUG}*IZI.GAR* and (^{DUG})*NURU*. It is possible that the wick was called *lappina-* (Güterbock and Hoffner 1989). Only two passages give any indication of lamp fuel: 2 *NAMMANTU* *Ì.NUN ša-ša-an-na-aš* “two measuring vessels of butter/ghee for lamps” (*KUB* 44.4 obv. 3; *KUB* 46.30:11), and *šašanna[n?...] / [...] GÌN IŠTU* *Ì.DÜG.GA hastiyan piran tiyanzi* (*KUB* 30.15 + 39.19 + 39.11 obv. 49–50, Otten 1958:68ff. See above, p. 110) “They set out in front of the bones a lamp[...]

of [x] shekels (filled) with fine oil.”

There are other references to the burning of oil. A mixture of honey and oil was burned to produce a pleasant odor for the gods which by smelling the same they could be said to eat and drink (Otten and Souček 1969:ii 7–13). Another ritual text also mentions burning cedar, *Ì.NUN*, honey, and other materials to produce a sweet odor (*KBo* 11.14 i 17–19; Ünal 1994). In still another passage, honey and olive oil are poured into a clay cup and a tiny chip of wood (^{GI}*šwaršaman*) floating on the surface is ignited and burns, perhaps absorbing the oil in which it floats like a wick (*KUB* 32.8 iii 20–23).

Oil in the Preparation of Food

Oil was used in the preparation of many foods, especially the breads and pastries (see Hoffner 1974 ch. 4). Among these foods we may mention *NINDA.Ì* and *NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A*. The latter was a special delicacy made from a wide spectrum of sweet and oily ingredients: oil, sheep fat, milk, butter, and honey. It has been compared to Turkish *helva*. A stew or thick soup flavored with oil (*TU.7.Ì = šagnaš paršur*, see now Hoffner 1994) was considered a particular delicacy and was often served to the king. Olive oil and honey were also poured on top of roasted mutton as a kind of sauce (*KBo* 2.3 i 51–55, translated in Pritchard 1969:351). Singer (1987) thinks this was done to make it tender.

Oil Attracts and Appeases the Gods

In a prayer of King Mursili II, the king asks that the sweet cedar oil may “call” or “summon” the god *Telipinu* (*KUB* 24.1 i 11–12). As part of this concept that the gods were attracted or “lured” by sweet oil, the rituals sometimes mention sprinkling “paths” of sweet oil (*Ì.DÜG.GA*) to attract the deities: “See, I have sprinkled your paths, O *Telipinu*, with sweet oil. So set out, O *Telipinu*, on the path which has been sprinkled with sweet oil!” (*KUB* 17.10 ii 28–30). In another ritual, the “seer-exorcist” (^{LÜ}*ḪAL*) takes oil, honey, thick bread, and libation and goes to

appease the mountain gods (*KUB* 30.36 ii 1–2).

Oil Used as a Payment

In a “wisdom” text originating in Babylonia and translated into Hittite, we read of a prostitute who wears a borrowed garment and anoints herself with oil taken as a wage (*KUB* 4.3 + *KBo* 12.20 ii 30–31; Laroche in Schaeffer 1968:273ff., 779ff.). As part of a vow to a deity, a Hittite queen gave three *ḫaršiyalli*-vessels (large storage vessels, *piṭhoi*) containing respectively oil, honey, and fruit (*KUB* 15.1 iii 14–16; de Roos 1984).

In the “Song of *Ḫedammu*,” another myth of the Kumarbi cycle, a fragmentary passage describing the creation and raising of the monster *Ḫedammu* seems to say: “They place him/it in oil ... they place him/it in water.”¹⁷ Perhaps this is a method for rendering him invulnerable. One is reminded of the Greek legend of Achilles’ heel.

Other uses for Oil

Oil, fat, or grease may also have been used to seal the interstices of baskets to make them waterproof. In the famous story of the Queen of Kanesh who set her seventy infant sons adrift in baskets to float down the river to the Black Sea, where they were recovered by the gods and raised, the queen first prepares the baskets by “filling” them, i.e., their interstices, with oil/grease (*ša-gán-da*) (Otten 1973:6f., 16–18). Students of the Bible will recall the waterproofing of the basket in which the baby Moses was placed in the shallow water of the Nile according to the story in chapter one of the Book of Exodus.¹⁸ Moses’ mother smeared the basket with bitumen. Oil or grease (Akkadian *šamnu*) are used to caulk boats (see *CAD* Š s.v. *šamnu*). Since until recently it was not known that the crucial word *ša-gán-da* could be interpreted other than a form of *šakkar* “dung,” the passage was thought either 1) to attest the use of dung in waterproofing the baskets (a very implausible procedure), 2) a filling of the baskets with dung as a cushioning bed for the infants, or 3) as a sym-

bolic action implying that the Queen of Kanesh was undoing a curse upon herself manifested by her ominous birth of seventy boys. None of these options seems now as plausible as the possible interpretation given above. Oil, grease, or perhaps even resin (*šagn-*) was used to caulk the baskets and prevent them from sinking before they could carry their human cargos down the river to their divinely intended destination. This understanding also fits the parallels in the other ancient Near Eastern stories much more closely.

Conclusion

The documentation for vegetable and animal fats from primary textual sources, even when limited to the Hittites, is so voluminous that a treatment such as I have been able to give here hardly scratches the surface. Not until the dictionary articles on all the logograms containing *Ī* have been published will there be a truly comprehensive presentation of the textual evidence. But the recent discovery of the Hittite syllabic equivalent of *Ī*, namely *šagn-*, has opened new possibilities for interpretation. And when the syllabically written vocabulary related to **šag-* (in *šaguwant-*) and *šagn-* are added to the Akkadograms and Sumerograms, it is possible to see new and important uses.

Note

Peter Neve has made many impressive contributions to Hittitology and the archaeology of ancient Anatolia. This new survey of the evidence for oil among the Hittites is affectionately dedicated to him.

¹ Hoffner 1994. The word's form in the oblique cases is *šakn-*, but its exact form in the nominative-accusative is uncertain. It could be either **šaknan* or **šakan*.

² For this term, see the two dictionaries: Puhvel 1984– and Friedrich and Kammenhuber 1975–1984.

³ Singer 1983:73 n. 45.

⁴ For a listing of Sumerograms beginning with *Ī* see Rüster and Neu 1989:325f. In addition to the words I have cited the list includes: *Ī.SAG* (DÜG.GA), *Ī.GAB*, *Ī.GAB ŠE*, *UZU* *Ī.GU*₄ (“Rinderfett,” “beef drippings”). The authors include the element “Schmalz” (“grease”) in their translations of many of these terms, e.g., *Ī.NUN* is “Butterschmalz.” *Ī.GAB* is included

with neither translation nor text citation.

⁵ I would restore *KUB* 35.157:4 this way. It is transliterated without restoration in Archi 1979:43, whose French translation is “gercé” (“chapped”).

⁶ Perhaps one should emend *har* (or *hur*) -*ta-an-za* (“cursed”?) to *har-ga!-an-za* “ruined” in the sense of dried out or dessicated?

⁷ Olive oil is normally written *Ī GISERDUM*. Sesame oil is *ŠE.GIŠ.Ī*, with the Hittite reading perhaps *šapšama* (Güterbock 1968). Again see Güterbock 1968 on oil extraction from nuts. The word for pig fat *Ī ŠAḪ* occurs for the first time in the Hittite laws §90. Sheepfat, *Ī.UDU*, is extremely common in the texts.

⁸ KBo 22.1 obv. 11–12, (Archi 1979, and see notes in Marazzi 1988). *Ī SAḪ DÜG.GA* also occurs in *KUB* 25.31 + 1142/z obv. 10.

⁹ *KUB* 29.1 iv 4–7, ritual, OH/NS; *KUB* 2.2+ iv 2, OH/NS.

¹⁰ Usually written *Ī.UDU*, but at least once “resolved” as *UDU-aš Ī-an*.

¹¹ *KUB* 17.10 iv 29 Telipinu myth, translation Hoffner 1990.

¹² Written with an Akkadogram *GISERDUM*, the West Semitic word for olive was **zayt-*, reflected in Ugaritic *zt* and Biblical Hebrew *zyt*. Although the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (s.v. *šamaššammū*) prefers the translation “flax” rather than sesame, the recent discovery of sesame seeds in Urartu and in 18th Dynasty Egypt together with the impressive arguments of Civil, Powell, and others in favor of the latter translation (Powell 1991) persuade me to retain the translation “sesame” here. One of the words for oil-bearing plants is Hittite *GISšamama*. Güterbock (1968) concluded that *šamama* was not the Hittite reading of *ŠE.GIŠ.Ī* “sesame,” but instead a term for a nut. Along with other reasons, he maintained that the determinative *GIŠ* “wood” was more appropriate for a fruit encased in a woody shell than for a seed in a pod.

¹³ E.g. bread: KBo 5.2 i 27–29; stew: *KUB* 56.45 ii 13–14; meat: *UZU pīt-tal-ū-[an]* ABoT 32 ii 8, 9; and hay: KBo 35 i 63.

¹⁴ See KBo 13.248:27: [...] *Ī.GIŠ Ī ŠA-AM-ŠA-AM-MI Ī* [...]. This juxtaposition casts serious doubt on the proposal that *Ī.GIŠ* is “(Sesam)-öl” (Rüster et al. 1989:127, sign no. 72).

¹⁵ *KUB* 54.1 i 58–59: Somewhat problematic is the force of *EGIR-anda* “afterwards” (??), here. If it bears its usual force, the anointing with oil would take place after worshipping the deity, which seems strange.

¹⁶ The term is the Akkadogram *BIBRU*, often translated “rhyton.” On the inappropriateness of this translation, see Güterbock 1983.

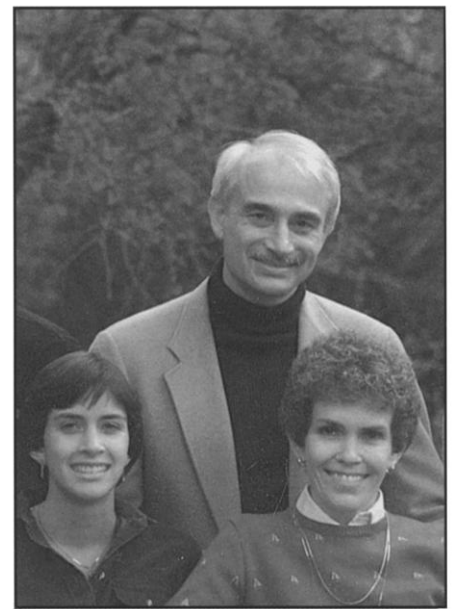
¹⁷ Siegelová 1971:40f. and Hoffner 1990. Pecchioli, Daddi, and Polvani (1990:138) mention this as assisting the serpent in some way by bathing it in oil and water.

¹⁸ On the various ancient Near Eastern stories of famous persons set adrift as babies, surviving, and later achieving fame, see Lewis 1980.

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Hittite Equivalents of Old Assyrian kumrum and e pattum

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner Jr.

Source: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1996, Vol. 86, Festschrift für Hans Hirsch zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern (1996), pp. 151-156

Published by: Department of Oriental Studies, University of Vienna

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² *Or NS 60 (1991) 124-27.*

While we may not be able to identify this context, it offers us a potentially very important bit of data: the word ^{LÚ}SANGA^A*ku-um-ra*. In the hand copy there is word space between ^{LÚ}SANGA and *ku-um-ra-an* in line 8. But that this is merely an accident is proven by the following line, where Akkadian *UMMA ...-MA* brackets what is only one word in Hittite: the "Akkadographic" or stem form ^{LÚ}SANGA^A*ku-um-ra*. This would appear to be a unique instance of ^{LÚ}SANGA used as a determinative, and it is fortunate that the scribe chose to write it thus. For this narrows the semantic range of *kumra-* from just any occupational title to one in the "priestly" class.

The scholar whom we honor with this volume knows better than I the implications of this combination. For in the Old Assyrian texts from Asia Minor the cult official known as *kumru* has the Sumerographic equivalent LÚGUDU_4 (i.e., LÚAH.ME), the non-Boğazköy equivalent of the Boğazköy form LÚGUDU_{12} (i.e., LÚIM.ME).³

In Hittite cult texts three cult officials stand at the top of the hierarchy for each temple: the LÚSANGA , the LÚGUDU_{12} and the $\text{MUNUSAMA.DINGIR-LIM}$.⁴ Hittitologists are accustomed to translating these titles somewhat literally and artificially as "priest", "anointed one" and "mother-of-the-god". The second of these is given this translation by virtue of its standard Akkadian equivalent *pašišu* "anointed"⁵, although nowhere in Hittite texts does the Akkadogram *pašišu(m)* occur in order to give any indication of how the Hittites understood LÚGUDU_{12} . Nor does any Hittite text describe him as *iškant*- "anointed". The translation then is merely conventional. Furthermore, although the Hittite syllabic reading of SANGA and AMA.DINGIR are known — *šankunni*- and *šiwanzanni*, no syllabic reading of LÚGUDU_{12} is yet known.⁶ J. FRIEDRICH and others once supposed that the syllabic reading was LÚtazelli -, and this supposition was repeated by PECCHIOLI DADDI in 1982 without

³ H. HIRSCH, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion* (AfO Beiheft 13/14) 55f.

⁴ $\text{LU.MEŠSANGA LU.MEŠGUDU}_{12} \text{MUNUS.MEŠAMA.DINGIR-LIM KUB 13.4 ii 57, iii 35, } <\text{LU}>\text{MEŠSANGA-at-za } \text{MUNUS.MEŠšī-wa-an-za-an-niš } \text{LU.MEŠGUDU}_{12} \text{ KUB 13.2 ii 32, ibid. 27 (BEL MADGALTI instruction), cf. KUB 17.21 ii 16-17 (prayer of Arnuwanda), KUB 20.80 iii? 9-10 (festival celebrated by a prince).}$

⁵ AHW 845a sub *pašišum*.

⁶ In FR. PECCHIOLI DADDI, *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell' Anatolia ittita* (Roma 1982) 305 phonetic complementation of the singular nominative is given as " LÚGUDU_{12} -is *KBo XVII 15 Vo 8*, LÚGUDU_{12} -as *KBo XXV 86 Ro 9*; 112 III 5". The evidence of *KBo 20.86 obv. 9*, which is in Old Hittite handwriting, is conclusive proof of an a-stem. But the evidence of *KBo 17.15 obv. 8* for an i-stem is inconclusive. The line in question reads $\text{UGULA LU.MEŠMUHALDIM } \text{LÚGUDU}_{12}$ -iš-ša šī-ú-na[-aš ki-iš-ša-an iš-pa-an-ta-an-zi], in which LÚGUDU_{12} -iš-ša could be singular or plural nominative. If it is the latter, the ending -iš does not necessarily point to an i-stem. It appears then that the word was an a-stem common gender noun.

refutation.⁷ But the decisive objection was raised already in 1972 by H. G. GÜTERBOCK, who showed that both words occurred in the same enumeration of officials.⁸ It is tempting, therefore, to view the present passage as the long-awaited evidence of the correct reading.

To be sure, there can be objections. The determinative is not LÚGUDU₁₂, but LÚSANGA. If, however, the Hittites took LÚSANGA as a more generic reference to priestly officials, it would be understandable if it rather than LÚGUDU₁₂ were used as a determinative.

If *kumra-* is not specifically the equivalent of LÚGUDU₁₂, it is nevertheless indisputably a designation of a cult official, and it would be strange, if this cult official were not mentioned elsewhere in the thousands of cult texts at our disposal. Since this syllabic reading does not occur elsewhere, we should probably conclude that this official is attested elsewhere under a logogram.

The interest of *kumra-* is not limited to Old Assyrian and Hittite texts. It has long been known that the non-Israelite priests of Canaan are referred to in the Hebrew Bible as כַּמְרִים (*kēmārīm*, singular *kōmer* < West Semitic **kumr*).⁹ The same term in modern Hebrew is used by Israelis to designate Christian priests.

2. *ipantu-*

In a fragmentary and difficult section of the Hurro-Hittite myth called "The Song of Kumarbi" or (less appropriately) "Kingship in Heaven" there occurs the passage:

24 LUGAL-*uš* NÍG.BA *pí-ia*-[

25 TÚG.GÚ.È.A-*aš-ši-ká*[*n*

26 KÙ.BABBAR-*aš i-pa-an-tu* A-NA [

27 *hu-u-la-li*- [

⁷ PECCHIOLO DADDI, *Mestieri* 304, citing FRIEDRICH, *HW* 275, HAAS, *Der Kult von Nerik* 28-30, 158f.

⁸ *RAI* 20 (1972) 130 note 24.

⁹ The connection between the Old Assyrian *kumru-* and the Hebrew and Aramaic cognate words was noted by *AHW* 222a s.v. *epattum* and *CAD* E s.v. *epattu*.

Not much can be made out of the context except that garments (TÚG.GÚ.È.A) are being mentioned and verbs associated with wrapping or donning garments (*hulaliya-*). The *ipantu* is construed with the preceding genitive "of silver", indicating that the *ipantu* is either made of silver or has silver ornamentation¹⁰. The latter would be possible in the case of an expensive surplice worn by a deity, priest or royal personage. In his transliteration of this passage E. LAROCHE wrote the word under consideration as an Akkadogram (*I-PA-AN-TU*).¹¹ And it was this which first put it into my mind that there might be a connection with the Old Assyrian word *epattu*.¹² What has complicated that picture is the second occurrence of the word in KBo 29.211 iv? 6-8, which reads:

6 [LÚ.MEŠA]ZU *i-pa-an-du-aš* dLAMMA Š[E-RI
 7 [dLAMMA Š]E-RI dA-la-an-na LÚ.ME[Š
 8 [LÚ.]MEŠAZU *ú-da-an-zi na-an-ká*[n
 9 []x-an I-NA GIŠBANŠUR AD.KID A-NA [
 10 [N]A₄hu-u-wa-a-ši-ia ú-[

If it were not for the existence of the occurrence of *ipantu* in the Song of Kumarbi, one might be inclined to interpret *ipanduaš* here as the genitive of a verbal substantive, like *šipanduwaš* "(deity) of offering/libating". But we know of no verb **ipand-*, and we simply cannot ignore the evidence of the Song of Kumarbi passage. The genitive *i-pa-an-du-aš* can hardly be read as *I-PA-AN-DU-aš*. Both forms must be understood as from a neuter u-stem noun *ipandu-*. And since in line 6 of this second passage *i-pa-an-du-aš* is to be construed with the immediately following word dLAMMA Š[E-RI ...] we must translate it "The Steppe-Genius of the *ipandu*". What could this mean? If the cult image of the "Steppe-Genius" was clothed in a characteristic garment, it is possible that this garment would appear in the deity's name in a cult text: dLAMMA ŠE-RI

¹⁰ Or KÙ.BABBAR-*aš* could be the genitive of the person called 'Silver' in the Song of Silver.

¹¹ LAROCHE, *Myth.* 160f.

¹² CAD E 183, plural *epadātum*.

who wears the *ipantu*". This possibility should be kept in mind in spite of the obvious objection that neither of the two occurrences shows a determinative for cloth (e.g., GAD) or garment (TÚG).

All of this is far from certain. But it is intriguing in view of the use of the Hebrew אֵפֹד ('ēfōd) as the garment of priests, and the use of precious metals in its ornamentation.¹³

According to the CAD, the Old Assyrian *epattum* was also "a costly garment", although none of the passages cited in the dictionary article indicate the use of ornamentation made of silver or gold.

It should not be surprising to find cultic terminology shared between Old Assyrian texts and Hittite ones, since both were written in the same locale and within a matter of a few centuries of each other.

¹³ Exodus 28:6, 39:2 (gold), Judges 8:27 (gold), 17:5 (silver?), and 18:14-20.

From the Disciplines of a Dictionary Editor

Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 1998, Vol. 50 (1998), pp. 35-44

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

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FROM THE DISCIPLINES OF A DICTIONARY EDITOR

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There are at least three disciplines that must be cultivated by an editor of a dictionary of a dead language: textual reconstruction (which inevitably involves identifying joins and duplicates and using them to reconstruct the text in its original form), grammatical analysis, and lexical determination. Hans Güterbock mastered all three skills as a young student of Hans Ehelolf in Berlin, although it was only in his 60s that he had occasion as co-editor of the fledgeling Chicago Hittite Dictionary Project to exercise them as a dictionary editor. It has been my great privilege to work alongside him on this project for almost twenty-five years. In celebration of his 90th birthday I should like to present here in his honor a sample of my own recent work in all three of these areas.

1. Text: A New Join to the Hittite Instructions for Priests (*CTH* 264)

The Hittite Instructions for Priests (*CTH* 264) is an elegant work,¹ not only fulfilling the purely functional task of detailing the obligations and rules governing priestly work, but digressing into speculations about the nature of the gods and their relationship to humans.² The date of its

composition is uncertain. Some of its language seems older than New Hittite, yet no cuneiform tablet containing it shows the characteristics of Middle Hittite writing. For this reason the Chicago Hittite Dictionary dates it as a “pre-NH” (pre-New Hittite) composition attested to date exclusively in New Hittite copies.

Aygül Süel’s edition of the Hittite Instructions for Priest and Temple Officials (1985) is a welcome tool. Although Sturtevant (1934) had edited the principal manuscripts, and in 1935 in collaboration with George Bechtel provided a second treatment, a quasi-edition without text variants (Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935), Süel’s edition, in addition to benefiting from fifty years of lexicographic research, has the advantage of incorporating a number of new joins to the major text witnesses.

In the course of my work on the Chicago Hittite Dictionary, I came across a long-published fragment (*KUB* 31.120) that until now has not been recognized as belonging to *CTH* 264, much less as a direct join to one of the small pieces first published in Süel’s edition. Even though the resulting text adds no variants to the text as it is already known, I should like to make the join known here.

The unpublished piece in question, 71/v, is presented in photograph on plate X (Lev. X) in Süel’s book, and is placed on her join sketch of Copy B on Plate I. The published piece, *KUB* 31.120, joins 71/v directly on the lower right-hand side and gives parts of eleven consecutive lines on the far right side of column I. The break on the right side of *KUB* 31.120 is on the intercolumnium. Photos of Copy B are Plates VIII and IX of

1. In addition to the basic literature given in Laroche (1971, 37–38 #264), one should see two important comparative studies by Milgrom (1970; 1976), a new edition of the text by Süel (1985), and a new English translation by Gregory McMahon in Hallo and Younger (1997).

2. See *KUB* 13.4 i 21’–22’, edited in Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935, 148–49) and Süel (1985, 22–23) and translated anew in Hallo and Younger (1997, 217).

Süel's book. B has two wide columns on a side. The average line length is 22 signs. Line 3' of 71/v transcribed below, being the first line of a new paragraph can be confidently restored on the left and contains 20 signs. S5, lines 3'+11', contains 24 signs. The first line of *KUB* 31.120 is the direct continuation of 71/v, line 5'. It is transliterated

below as S4, line 5'+1'. Bo 69/278 + 754/v starts in S5 and preserves part of the left side of the column. I give below a transliteration of the enlarged join. The restorations are taken from duplicates documented in Süel's book.

In what follows, B₁ = 71/v, B₂ = *KUB* 31.120, and B₃ = 754/v (+ Bo 69/278).

S3 (Continued)

B ₁ 1'	[<i>na-an-kán hu-u-ma-an-da-az har-ni-ik-z</i>] <i>i n[u-za]</i>
B ₁ 2'	[A-NA INIM DINGIR-LIM <i>me-ek-ki mar-r</i>] <i>i na-aḫ-ḫa[-an-te-eš e-eš-tén]</i>

S4

B ₁ 3'	[<i>an-da-ma</i> EZEN ₄ ITU.KAM EZEN ₄ MU-TI EZEN ₄ A-YA-LI E]ZEN ₄ <i>zé-e-n[a-an-da-aš]</i>
B ₁ 4'	[EZEN ₄ <i>ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-da-aš</i> EZEN ₄ <i>te-et-ḫe-eš-na-aš</i> EZ]EN ₄ <i>ḫi-ya-ar-ra-a[š</i> EZEN ₄ <i>pu-u-da-ḫa-aš]</i>
B ₁ 5' + B ₂ 1'	[EZEN ₄ <i>i-šu-wa-aš</i> EZEN ₄ <i>ša-at-la-aš-ša-aš</i> EZ]EN ₄ BI-IB-RI EZ[EN ₄ .MEŠ <i>šu-up-pa-ya-aš]</i>
B ₁ 6' + B ₂ 2'	[^{LÚ} SANGA- <i>aš</i> EZEN ₄ .MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI EZEN ₄ .MEŠ ^{MUNUS} .MEŠAM]A DINGIR-LIM EZEN ₄ <i>da-ḫi-ya[-aš]</i>
B ₁ 7' + B ₂ 3'	[EZEN ₄ .MEŠ ^{LÚ} .MEŠ <i>ú-pa-ti-ya-aš</i> EZEN ₄ .MEŠ <i>pu-u-la-aš</i> EZEN ₄ .MEŠ <i>ḫa-a]</i> <i>ḫ-ra-an-na-aš</i>
B ₂ 4'	[<i>na-aš-ma-aš ku-iš im-ma ku-iš</i> EZEN ₄ - <i>aš</i> ^{URU} <i>Ḫa-at-tu-ši-k]</i> <i>án še-er</i>
B ₂ 5'	[<i>na-aš ma-a-an IŠ-TU GU₄.ḪIA UDU.ḪIA NINDA KAŠ Û IŠ- TU</i> GEŠTIN <i>hu-u-ma-an-da-az</i>
B ₂ 6'	[<i>ša-ra-a ti-ya-an-ta UL e-eš-ša-at-te-ni na]</i> - <i>at pé-eš-kán-zi ku-i-e-eš</i>
B ₂ 7'	[<i>nu-uš-ma-aš šu-me-eš LÚ.MEŠ É DINGIR-LIM ḫa-ap-pár da-aš-kat-t]</i> <i>e-ni</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>aš-ma-at-kán</i>
B ₂ 8'	[ZI- <i>ni wa-ak-ši-ya-nu-ut -te -n]</i> <i>i</i>

S5

B ₃ 1' + B ₂ 9'	[<i>na-aš-m]</i> <i>a-at-kán ma-a-a[n ša-ra-a ti-ya-an-da ku]-wa-pí da-at-te-ni</i>
B ₃ 2' + B ₂ 10'	[<i>na-at]</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>aš</i> ZI- <i>ni</i> [<i>pa-ra-a UL ar-nu-ut]-te-ni nu-uš-ma-ša-at ar-ḫa</i>
B ₃ 3' + B ₂ 11'	[I-NA] É.MEŠ-KU-NU <i>pé-[e ḫar-te-ni na-at šu-me-]el</i> [DAM.MEŠ-KU-NU DUMU.MEŠ-KU-NU]
B ₃ 4'	[SAG.GÉME.Ì]R.MEŠ-KU-NU <i>ar-ḫ[a e-ez-za-i ...]</i>

754/v continues for parts of five more lines, but since there is no contribution from *KUB* 31.120 and Süel already has used Bo 69/278 + 754/v in her apparatus, we will not give it here.

2. Text: A Join in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma

KBo 40.6 is a direct join to KBo 14.7, which forms a part of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (*CTH*

40), edited by Güterbock (1956, 81). The combined transliteration is as follows. *KBo* 14.7 i 1' provides

the righthand portion of line 9' in *KBo* 40.6. Most of the restorations of *KBo* 14.7 are Güterbock's.

1' [o o] x x [
 2' [o] x ^m*Ha-š*[*a-am-mi-li*-
 3' [*pí-r*] *a-an hu-u-i-^re¹*[-*er*
 4' [*ú-^re¹-er³* *nu-kán* x [
 5' [o o-*w*] *a-an-na-aš* [
 6' [*pé²-e*] *n-nu-um-me-^re¹*[-*ni*
 7' [o o] ^m*Ma-am*[-*ma-li*-
 8' [*pa-ra-*] *a na-a-i*[
 9' [o o] x-*aš⁵* *na-aš-kán* ^rANŠE^r.KUR.RA[MEŠ

10' [*ma-aḫ-ḫ*] *a-an-ma* A-^rBU^r-YA *iš-ta-ma-a*[š-*ta*
 11' [o o ANŠ]E.KUR.RA.MEŠ *pa-iš-ta* n[*u*
 12' [*nu-k*] *án* ^m*Ma-am-ma-li-in* G[IM-
 13' ÉRIN.MEŠ-*ma-aš-ši-kán* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ NAM.R[A.MEŠ ... *ar-ḫa da-a-aš*]
 14' ^m*Ma-am-ma-li-iš-ma-kán* 1-*aš* i[š-*pár-za-aš-ta*⁶
 15' A-BU-YA-*ma-kán* ^{HURSAG}*Ti-wa*[-*ta-aš-ša*-
 16' GIM-*an-ma* ^m*Za-pa-al-li-iš* ^m[
 17' *ḫa-at-kiš-ša-nu-an-te-eš* *na-at-k*[*án*
 18' I-NA ^{URU}*Ḫa-pal-la* *pa-a-ir* A-BU-Y[A-*ma*-
 19' *nu-uš-ši* *nam-ma* A-NA ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ [
 (End of the column.)

3. Lexicon: On the Stems of the Noun *ḫazkara-*

The noun *ḫazkara-* has been often studied. Although Friedrich (1952), Tischler (1978, 234), and Puhvel (1991, 280–81) all give a unitary translation (“woman percussionist” or the like), as though the word had an as yet unattested singular, it

bears in all its known occurrences the plural determinative MUNUS.MEŠ, so that Friedrich (1952, 68) already understood the word to denote women in temple service. It is accordingly, like MUNUS.MEŠ *taptaraš*, and other such words, a collective noun denoting a group of persons. As such, normal Hittite grammar—not “grammatical paucity” (per Puhvel)—dictates that it will sometimes take a singular verb. In fact, MUNUS.MEŠ *taptaraš* regularly takes a singular verb. To my knowledge *ḫazkara-* is not yet attested in the accusative case. Puhvel attempted to explain away the occasional -*i* stem ending of MUNUS.MEŠ *ḫazkarai*, suggesting rather implausibly that it “may in some instances conceal -(y)a “and.” But if the word is in fact a collective noun, there is every possibility (as we shall see below) that the -*i* ending is primary, a

3. Or [*pa-*]^r*a¹-ir*.

4. Or: [*ku-e*] *n-*.

5. Perhaps [*ú-d*] *a-aš* or [*pé-e-d*] *a-aš*.

6. Or: 1-*aš* S[AG.DU-*aš* *iš-pár-za-aš-ta*]. The restoration B[A.BAD ...] “died” (so Güterbock 1956, 81) does not fit the employment of -*kan* here. For my restoration see: *KBo* 5.8 iii 31–33 *nu=mu=kan* ^m*Pittaggatališ=pat* / 1-*aš* *išparzašta* and *KBo* 3.4 ii 77 [(^m*Tapalazunauliš=ma=k*) *an* 1-*aš* SAG.DU-*aš* *išparzašta*].

relic of the old collective ending found on *kulēi* (on which see Oettinger 1995).

Kronasser (1966, 186) and Carruba (1969, 37) derived the form from the iterative verbal stem *hazziki* “to strike (a musical instrument),” and this view was adopted by Puhvel (1991), but opposed by Tischler.

Friedrich already noted the principal problem of determining the word’s stem. He identified the endings *-a*, *-ai*, and *-aya* in the nominative case, and *-ayaš* in the dative-locative. Neither Tischler nor Puhvel made a significant advance over Friedrich’s analysis of the stem, although Tischler rightly included stems in *-az(a)*. Tischler attributed the variety of stems in the nominative to foreign origin, while Puhvel with his preference for identifying PIE roots in Hittite words rejected foreign origin.

The word’s occurrences are clustered in the cult texts. Otten (1969, 94) cited some of the passages in which the term appears, adding unpublished occurrences. All of these were listed by Pecchioli Daddi (1982, 385–88), although most were not translated by her or studied in context.

What neither Friedrich, Pecchioli Daddi (1982), nor Puhvel took seriously as a clue to the stem or stems of this word were the forms ending in *-az(a)*. When they cited these forms, they omitted the *-z(a)* as though it were an omissible clitic. Perhaps, because occasionally the word begins a clause, they thought this was the sentence particle *-z(a)*. But the forms in *-(a)z(a)* are by no means confined to clause-initial position, which means that this explanation is clearly incorrect. Only Tischler (1978, 234) correctly indicated the *-az(a)* forms as stem variants, but he had no explanation. The word *appears* to have a stem *haz(i)gara(ya)t*. The true significance of this alternative stem, however, can only be detected, when one observes that it is obligatory whenever the word serves as subject of a transitive verb:

- (1) *KBo* 2.7 obv. 26–28 *lukat=ma=kan* NINDA. KUR₄.RA D[UG^haršiaš MUNUS].MEŠ^hal-az-ka-ra-a-i-ya-za INA É DINGIR-LIM UGU udanzi.
- (2) *KBo* 2.13 obv. 8–10 [GIM-an TEŠI DÛ-ri DUG^harši glēnuwanzi 3 NINDA.KU₇ 1

DUG^hanišaš KAŠ DUG^harši dU 3 NINDA. KU₇ 1 DUG^haniš[aš KAŠ] / [HURSAG-i aššanumm]aš halziyari GAL.HIA=kan aššanuwanzī / [ZÍZ=ma ...] MUNUS.MEŠ^hha-az[-q]a-ra-ya-za pēdazi (for pēdanzi) har-ranzi mallanzi.

- (3) *KBo* 2.13 obv. 11–13 [lukat=m]a NINDA. KUR₄.RA.MEŠ DUG^haršiyaš MUNUS.MEŠ^hha-az-ga-ra-i-ya-za šarā udanzi dU HUR. SAG=ya karpanzi / NINDA.KUR₄.RA.MEŠ DUG^haršiyaš=šmaš peran pē harkanzi.
- (4) *KBo* 2.13 obv. 19–20 GIM-an=ma nekuza mēhuni kišari DINGIR.MEŠ MUNUS.MEŠ^hha-az-qa-ra-i-ya-za arha pēdanzi / ištānani=aš taninuwanzi.
- (5) *KBo* 2.13 rev. 2–5 *lukat=m[a]* dU dUTU <URU>TÚL-n[a] dLAMMA HURSAG Pišqarana karpiyanzi / NINDA.KUR₄.RA.MEŠ DUG^haršiya=šmaš peran pē harzi DINGIR. MEŠ MUNUS.MEŠ^hha-az-qa-ra-i-ya-za / TÚL War-wataliyanza ANA NA⁴ZIKIN.HIA pēdanzi DINGIR.MEŠ PANI NA⁴ZIKIN.HIA / taninuwanzi.

Only in passage (2) might *h*. be clause initial, in which case the *-za* could be the clitic *-za*, but no *-za* is required (or indeed permitted) by this verb phrase.

Furthermore, when it takes an intransitive verb, the word never has this *-az(a)* stem, but takes the stem in *-a* or *-āi*.

- (6) *KBo* 2.8 ii 2 [MUNUS.MEŠ^h]ha-az<-qa>-ra-ma išhamiškanzi kiš(š)an “The *h*.-women sing as follows.”
- (7) *KBo* 2.8 iii 12’ MUNUS.MEŠ^hha-az-qa-ra-ia EGIR iyatari “The *h*.-women walk behind.”
- (8) *KBo* 2.8 iii 23’ LÚ.MEŠ^hURMAH MUNUS. MEŠ^hha-az-qa-[r]a ANA GURUN pānzi “The lion-men and the *h*.-women go for the fruit(s).”
- (9) *KUB* 20.25 + *KUB* 10.78 i 18 MUNUS.MEŠ^hha-az-qa-ra-i EGIR-an arta “The *h*.-women stand behind.”
- (10) *KUB* 55.15 ii? 8–9 EGIR=ŠU MUNUS.MEŠ^hha-az-qa-ra-i / [U LÚ.MEŠ^hwa-a]l-wa-al-la GUB(or GIN)-ri “The *h*.-women [and the lion]n-[men] stand (or walk) behind him.”

- (11) KUB 56.39 iv 25 [...]x^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ha-az-qa-ra-i* BAL *paizzi* “[...] the *h*.-women go to libate.”

To be sure, there are a few problem passages, and it is not my intention to suppress them. In one passage the *-ai* stem seems to serve as subject of a transitive verb:

- (12) KBo 2.8 iii 26’ LÚ.MEŠ UR.MAḪ^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ha-az-qa-ra-i* [G]URUN *udanzi* “The lion-men and the *h*.-women bring the fruit(s)”, needs to be collated in order to see if the final *-i* could be an *-az*. Compare (*ha-az-ka-ra-an-za* 16, [*ha-az-ga-*]*ra-za* 18) for *-a(n)za* added to the basic stem *hazkara-*.

Interesting is (13) KBo 24.95 iii 18’–19’, restored from dupl. Bo 4801, cited by Otten, KBo XXIV, S. VII, Anm. 37: [*na(-at i-y)*]*a-an-ni-an-zi na-aš-kán*^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ha-az[(-ga-ra-a-iš EGIR-an)]* / [*(iš-ha-a)*]*m²-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi*... (Left untranslated by Pecchioli Daddi). If this passage is correctly reconstructed,⁸ the form^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ha-az[(-ga-ra-a-iš)]* cannot be nominative plural, as Pecchioli Daddi would have it (p. 386), since the singular verb requires a singular (or collective) subject. The clitic pronoun *-aš* is accusative plural common gender for what is sung (for *išhamauš* “songs”⁷). It would appear that the collective/neuter stem *-ai* has been augmented with a common gender *-š* ending when it is the subject of a transitive verb.

The form in (14) [GU]RUN^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ha-az-q[a-r]a-[y]a-aš* UGU *da-a-an-zi na-at* INA É DINGIR-L[IM] / [...]x-x-x-za *pé-e-da-an-zi* KBo 2.8 iv 22’–24’ could be genitive: “they take up the fruit(s) of the *h*.-women and carry them into the temple of the god [...]”. If, however, one must take^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ha-az-q[a-r]a-[y]a-aš* as the subject, it still shows that an “animate” (common gender) form had to be substituted when the word was subject of a transitive verb.

7. Pecchioli Daddi (1982, 387), who cites this after Otten mistakenly writes KBo XXIV 95 + Bo 4801, as though the latter were a join piece instead of a duplicate.

8. Among other matters there are problems with certain forms which appear in the reconstituted text. The spelling *iš-ha-am-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi* with geminate *m* would be unique.

- (15) KUB 56.39 iii 21–22 ^{GIŠ}*zuppari*^{HIA}-*aš peran lukkanz[i]* / ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-qa-ra-iš-ši* x-x e x[...] probably contains either the form *hazqarai* or *hazqaraiš* plus the dative clitic *-šši*.

But the majority of occurrences in which the transitivity or intransitivity of the verb can be determined shows the complementary distribution of the stems with and without *-az(a)*. Such a pattern is not found with Hittite nouns of common gender; yet a word such as this which denotes women ought to be inherently animate. What grammatical rule is in operation here?

It seems to me that we must begin with the forms used with intransitive verbs. The stem in *-ai* is in all likelihood a collective, of the type identified in Hittite by Neu (1992) and Oettinger (1993; 1995). These forms frequently end in *-i* and behave like neuters. They not only take neuter grammatical agreement and frequently take singular verbs, but, as we can see clearly in the case at hand, they cannot serve as subjects of transitive verbs, but must be replaced by *-ant-* forms, which some Hittitologists do not hesitate to call “ergatives” (Garrett 1990a; 1990b; 1996; Laroche 1962, and the CHD), although objections to this terminology have been raised by Neu (1989) and Carruba (1992). I am not so concerned about the terminology. What is important is to correctly understand the syntactic constraints of Hittite.

The “ergative” ending in the singular is usually written *-an-za*, but occasionally also ... *a-za* (presumably for *-ants*): UN.MEŠ-*an-na-za* < **antuḫšannants* (ergative of *antuḫšatar*) KUB 1.1 i 30.

If any doubt remains that the forms in *-az(a)* are for **hazkaranz(a)*, the following cult inventory passage in which the usual writing of the *-ant-* extension is attested, should expel it:

- (16) KUB 46.22 i 7’–8’ [...]x=*kan* [HUR]SAGŠ*id-dūwa* NA-ZI.KIN (8’) [...]x^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *h[a-az-ka-ra-an-za]* GAM-*ta pedanzi*.

Since the neuter-like collective forms *hazkara(i)* could not serve as subjects of transitive verbs, an “ergative-like” form *hazkaraya(n)z(a)* was formed to fill this role. And when it was not used, another grammatically animate form, *hazkaraiš* (13) or

hazkarayaš (14), was formed by adding the common gender nominative singular ending *-š* directly to the stems *hazkarai-* or *hazkaraya-*.

Interestingly enough, ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazkara(i)* and ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazkaraza* are sometimes paired with another word which shows the same collective in *-a* or *-aya* when the subject of intransitive verbs, and “ergative” *-a(n)z(a)* when transitive. That word is ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*walwalla* and ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*walwallaz(a)*, which is the syllabic reading of ^{LÚ.MEŠ}UR.MAH “lion-men.” In its logographic form ^{LÚ.MEŠ}UR.MAH was first somewhat comprehensively studied by Jakob-Rost 1966. The equation with syllabic ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*walwalla* was established by Otten 1969. As the subject of intransitive verbs we find *walwalla*, *walwallaya*, and the uncomplemented logogram (see citations 8, 10, 12 and 17):

- (17) KUB 55.15 ii 7–11 *n=an=kan* HUR.SAG-*i* / [... *p*]edanzi EGIR=ŠU ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-qa-ra-i* / [^{LÚ.MEŠ}*wa*]lwalla GIN-*ri* / [DINGIR-LUM ^{NA4}*huwaš*]i] *peran* / [taninuwanzi].

As the subject of transitive verbs we find *walwallaz* and *walwallaza* and the uncomplemented logogram ^{LÚ.MEŠ}UR.MAH:

- (18) KUB 51.47 i 1'–5 [...]*zi* x[...] / [... ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ga-]*ra-za ^{LÚ.MEŠ}UR.MAH *arḫa* [*pē*]da<*n*>*zi*.
- (19) KBo 26.158 i 6–7 DINGIR-LUM INA É DINGIR-LIM / [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazgaraza* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*walwallaza* *arḫa* *pedanzi* “[The *hazkara*-women and] the lion-men carry the (statue of) the deity back home to the temple”
- (20) 1461/u (Otten, WO 5:95) ii 1–3 *karpanzi n=a[n=kan* INA É DINGIR-LIM] / ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ka-ra-ri* x[...] / ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*w[a]lwal-laz* [... *pedanzi*].

I have no explanation for the form ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ka-ra-ri*. Summarizing, it appears that the word's forms when it serves as a subject of an intransitive are: *ha-az-qa-ra* (6, 8), *ha-az-qa-ra-i* (9, 10, 11), *ha-az-qa-ra-ia* (7[?]). When it serves as subject of a transitive verb, the forms are *hal-az-ka-ra-a-i-ya-za* (1), *ha-az[-q]a-ra-ya-za* (2), *ha-az-ga-ra-i-ya-za* (3), *ha-az-qa-ra-i-ya-za* (4, 5),

[*h*]a-az-ka-ra-an-za (16), [*ha-az-ga-]*ra-za (18), *ha-az-qa-ra-i* (12), *ha-az[-ga-ra-a-iš]* (13), *ha-az-q[a-r]a-[y]a-aš* (14), and *ha-az-ka-ra-ri* (20). I would assume that *hazkara-* was the word's basic stem. *hazkarai* (9, 10, 11) and *hazkaraya* (7) show the stem plus a collective ending *-i* or *-ya*. When required to serve as subject of a transitive verb, either the common gender ending *-š* (13, 14) or the “ergative” *-anza/-az/-aza* was added to the stem plus collective ending (*hazkarayaz*) or to the basic stem without the collective ending (*ha-az-ka-ra-an-za* 16, [*ha-az-ga-]*ra-za 18).

4. Grammar: The Hittite Vocative⁹

The form of the vocative is the bare stem (*išḫa* “lord!”)¹⁰ or a form outwardly resembling the dative-locative singular, either with final *-i* (*atti=me* “O my father” KBo 12.70 rev. 10b, *šarkui* LUGAL-*ue* “O heroic king”), or *-e* (LUGAL-*ue* “O king”). Eichner (1982/83) even proposes that the Hittite vocative derived from a locative in *-i* or *-e*, while Melchert (1994, 183) defends the earlier view of Sturtevant, Laroche, Oettinger and Eichner himself that the OH vocative ending in *-i* derives from PIE short *e*. Examples are so rare that it is difficult to formulate a rule as to which of the three forms occurs under what circumstances.

9. The Hittite vocative has been discussed often (Sommer and Falkenstein 1938, 147; Güterbock 1945; Sturtevant and Hahn 1951, 84 with n. 88; Friedrich 1960, §57b; Laroche 1969; Stefanini 1974; Eichner 1974 5–86; Eichner 1982/83; Neumann 1982/83).

10. According to the list in Meriggi (1980, 276) the bare stem of *a*-stem nouns serves the function of direct address also in Luwian and Palaic. According to him no clear examples of the vocative exist in Lycian and Lydian. Laroche (1959, 136 §23) attests for Luwian a vocative with zero ending and adds: “Ailleurs, le nominatif sert à l'appel.” But the two examples he cites: ^d*Šantaš* LUGAL-*uš* and *uraz* ^dUTU-*az*, both occur in contexts where they serve as subject of the verb and are therefore no different from the Hittite appositional address syntagma. Carruba (1970, 42) attests for Palaic both bare stem forms in *a* (*Zaparya, tabarna* [*papa-mi*]) and nominative forms (*-š* in sg., *-i/eš* in pl.) used in direct address, but does not transcribe the sentences containing the nominatives, so that one could ascertain if this is the same syntagma as Hittite appositional direct address.

a-stems can take either the bare stem *išhā* or the ending *-i* as in *atti=me*. Most other examples are *u*-stems: the noun *haššu-* “king,” the name ^d*Ištanu*, and the adjective *šarku-* “preeminent.” Here either *-i* or *-e* can occur. The *-e* can also occur on the clitic possessive “my” in *atti=me*, which in OH shows *i*-mutation.¹¹ A rare example of a vocative in *-i* of a consonantal stem *pētanti-*, is *pētanti* “O place” in *KUB 32.137 ii 2* (MH/NS). On the passage in which *pētanti* occurs see *CHD P*, 360. The extended stem in *-ant-* is doubtless used because the place addressed is treated like a person.

The true vocative is used principally in prayers and mythological texts: ^d*Ištanue išhā=mi* “O Ištanu, my lord” (*KUB 31.127 i 1*); ^d*Ištanue šarkui* LUGAL-*ue*, “O Ištanu, heroic king” (*KUB 31.127 i 15*); ^d*Impaluri* LÚSUKKAL-YA, “O Impaluri, my vizier!” (Ullik. 1 A ii 16); ^d*Mukišanu* LÚSUKKAL-YA, “O Mukišanu, my vizier!” (Ullik. I C ii 32); *ši-uni=mi zik=mu iyaš* “O my god! You made me” (*KUB 30.10 rev. 11–12*; prayer). *inanaš* ^dUTU-*i kāša= tta* SISKUR *pehḫun* “O Sungod of Illness, I have hereby given to you a sacrifice” (*KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8 i 6*; cf. also *ibid. i 15*); [^d*Ala*]*waimi lē=aš namma zahḫiškiši* “O Alawaimi, fight them no longer!” (*KUB 27.67 ii 31*). Note how in all these examples the vocative stands in a separate clause of its own and is not included in the immediately following clause with the verb.

Contra Kammenhuber (1969, 303) and others before her, there is no plural vocative ending *-eš*. Examples of DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmanteš* or DINGIR. LÚ.MEŠ DINGIR.MUNUS.MEŠ *hūmanteš* as direct address in the god-lists of the treaties are nominatives used in the appositional direct address within sentences in which it serves as the grammatical subject (see below). Similarly, *nu=za kāša šumeš* LÚ.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}*Išmirika hūmanteš* IT[^dTI]TU-[^{ŠI} *l*]*i[n]kiyaš=šaš* “All you men of Išmerika are parties to his oath with His Majesty” (*KUB 26.41 (+) 23.68 + ABoT 58 rev. 7* (MH/NS)). Examples such as these do not prove a plural vocative ending *-eš*.

Also exhibiting the form of the bare stem, but not serving the purpose of direct address, is the form used for the introduction of new names (Güterbock 1945; Laroche 1969; Stefanini 1974): MUNUS-*aš laman=šet* ^f*Šintalimeni* “(There was) a woman whose name was Š.” (*KUB 33.121 ii 5*); URU-*aš laman=šet* ^{URU}*Šudul*, “(There was) a town whose name was Šudul” (*KUB 14.8+ i 7*); LÚ-*aš* ^m*Appu laman=šet*, “(There was) a man whose name was Appu” (*KUB 14.8+ i 9–10*).

To express direct address Hittite speakers sometimes avoided the vocative by using an **appositional** construction and the second person pronoun. When the addressed person was subject of an action, both pronoun and appositional element are nominatives: *ziga* ^d*Telepinuš QATAMMA handaḫḫut* “You, O Telepinu, likewise be pleasant!” *KUB 17.10 ii 32* (Tel. myth, OH/MS); *man-a<š> takni zik=a* ^dUTU-*uš katti=šši paiši* “If he is on earth, you, Sungod, will go to him” *KUB 30.10 rev 11–12*; *šumeš* BELU^{MEŠ} TU₇ *hūmanteš...* LUGAL-*waš* ZI-*ni šer* ITU-*mi* ITU-*mi / linkiš-kiten* “All you kitchen personnel... keep taking monthly oaths of allegiance to the life of the king!” *KUB 13.3 ii 20, 25–26* (MH/NS). When the noun for the person addressed serves another function, such as the genitive or accusative, it is still translatable as direct address: *nu tuel ŠA DINGIR-LIM I*[NIM-*ni hanta UL innarahḫat*] “[Did I not recover according] to your word, O god?” *KUB 36.79+ ii 42* (OH/NS); *nu tuēl ŠA* ^m*Ma[dduw]atta [ida]u hinkan šanḫiškit* “He was seeking your painful death, O Madduwatta” *KUB 14.1 obv. 2*; *n=ašta tuk* ^m*Hullan kuwapi / gimmanti para nehḫun* “When I sent you forth in the winter, O Hulla” *HKM 17 obv. 9–10* (MH/MS).

In the above-cited examples the name of the addressed party always stands within the clause in which it has a specific role other than mere vocative function. On the other hand, the latter (the true vocative case) occupies its own separate clause.

Although quite rare, there are clear instances of a **non-appositional nominative of direct address**. Like the true vocative case, this nominative stands in a clause by itself. This is rarely encountered: once in the Middle Hittite ritual against

11. For *i*-mutation in Hittite see Rieken (1996), and Starke (1990, 56–93, esp. 61, 79–80, 89–92).

the sorceress Ziplantawiya: *aiš* EME-*aš* *gagaš qāša=šmaš=kan / parkuin mišriwantan ħarkin* ^{GIŠ}PA *UL walħantan / UDU-un šipantahhun* “O mouth, tongue, tooth! Lo, I have sacrificed to you a pure, gleaming white sheep, never struck with a rod” *KBo* 15.10 ii 8-10 (MH/MS); and once in the OH/NS text: *UMMA* ^d*Gulšaš* ^dNIN.TU-*aš* ^dIM-*naš* *attaš* *kuit=wa uw[(aš)]* “Thus said the Fate deities and Mother goddess: ‘O Father Stormgod, why have you come?’” *KUB* 33.24 (+) 33.28 i 38. This must be the correct interpretation of the passage, even though the quotative particle *-wa* is missing on the form of ^dIM-*naš*, since *attaš* cannot be dative in the *UMMA* clause and must therefore be the beginning of what is said.

Previous treatments have quite correctly noticed that forms other than what I have called the “true” vocative, i.e., bare stem and rare forms in *-i* or *-e*, can serve for direct address.¹² But they have failed to note that such forms (with the single

exception of *KBo* 15.10 ii 8–10 noted above) do not, like the true vocative, stand in a clause by themselves, but are imbedded. For this reason the distinction between vocative form and direct address function has been blurred, to the great detriment of grammatical analysis. It is necessary to clarify the actual state of affairs here, because in recent sketches of Hittite grammar, the distinction has continued to be overlooked, with the result that erroneous claims have been made about the Hittite vocative.¹³ This is especially regrettable because they have been made in a forum where comparative and historical linguists, who may not be very familiar with the basic data of Hittite, will be misled.

12. Earlier statements by leading Hittitologists: “The nominative functions also as a vocative” (Sturtevant and Hahn 1951, 84); “Im allgemeinen wird als Vokativ die Nominativform mit verwendet” (Friedrich 1960, 44); “Der Vokativ bei Subst. commune entspricht im allgemeinen dem Nominativ; vereinzelt besteht er in der älteren Sprache aus der nackten Stammform” (Kammenhuber 1969, 193); “Morphologisch entspricht ihm [d.h., dem Vokativ] in der Regel die reine

Stammform, doch beginnt schon früh der Nominativ die Funktion des Vokativs mitzuübernehmen” (Neu 1979, 179). Since the true vocative in Hittite always occupies its own separate clause, what in fact begins to assume the function of the vocative is not the nominative case *per se*, but a new syntagma, the use of appositional direct address, which can consist of other case forms than merely the nominative.

13. For example, *contra* Luraghi (1997, 15), the plural ending *-eš* is never found on a true vocative case form, but only in appositional direct address, where the addressed persons serve as the subject of the sentence. To be fair to Luraghi, she is only following the earlier statements chronicled in my previous footnote.

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נכים וחולים בחברה החיתית / THE DISABLED AND INFIRM IN HITTITE SOCIETY

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Source: *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* / ארץ-ישראל: מחקרים בדיעת הארץ ועתיקותיה, Vol. כז, HAYIM and MIRIAM TADMOR VOLUME / (תשס"ג / 2003), pp. 84*-90*

Published by: Israel Exploration Society

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THE DISABLED AND INFIRM IN HITTITE SOCIETY

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It is a great pleasure to present this modest study to my dear friends Miriam and Hayim Tadmor, with admiration for their scholarship and deep gratitude for their friendship.

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1992 J. Klinger ably surveyed the evidence for marginalized persons (“foreigners and outsiders”) in Hittite society.¹ But although passages dealing with physically handicapped persons have been individually discussed in previous Hittitological literature, I am unaware of any general attempt to study the practices and attitudes of the Hittites toward such persons.

In antiquity there were various forms of continuing disability: blindness, deafness, paralysis and bodily mutilation. They could be caused by deformity at birth, by sustaining a serious injury in battle or in a domestic accident, or could be the continuing after-effect of a disease, or the inevitable concomitant of old age.

Some permanent injuries were the result of punishments legally inflicted upon certain classes of felons. It was also believed that the gods inflicted physical disabilities as punishment for certain types of offenses, principally the violation of oaths. For instance, under certain circumstances slaves could be mutilated as part of the penalties imposed for theft.² And in curse formulae in treaties and oath ceremonies it is requested that the gods blind or otherwise afflict with diseases the violators of the oaths.³

Injuries, diseases and disabilities received in this manner would surely brand the disabled person as an offender and therefore as a pariah. One wonders if a stigma attached to all disabled per-

sons, simply because a casual observer would not know the circumstances behind the disability. Did the same attitudes prevail toward persons *born* with such handicaps as toward those who had received them as penalties for offenses?

II. FORMS OF DISABILITY

In the following we shall look at the various forms of disability mentioned in Hittite texts and at what the texts tell us about the prevailing attitudes toward such persons. There are laws governing the liability of a person who causes lasting injuries to another. Some of these are monetary payments; others involve providing compensation in the form of a slave or a member of the offender’s family.

1. *Old Age*⁴

In an era prior to spectacles and dental prosthetics the loss or deterioration of eyesight and teeth in older people must have been quite common. A famous passage in the Hebrew Bible is 2 Samuel 19:36 (v. 35 in English Bibles), the words of old Barzillai to King David:

בן־שמנים שנה אנכי היום
האדע בין־טוב לרע
אם־יטעם עבדך את־אשר אכל ואת־אשר אשתה
אם־אשמע עוד בקול שרים ושרות
ולמה יהיה עבדך עוד למשא אל־אדני המלך

“I am this day eighty years old; can I discern what is pleasant and what is not? Can your servant taste what he eats or what he drinks? Can I still listen to the voice of singing men and singing women? Why then should your servant be an added burden to my lord the king?”

A moderately cynical view of the infirmities of old age can be seen in several passages from Hittite texts. Prince Kantuzzili in his famous prayer philosophizes: “Even if a mortal were to live forever, were his painful ills to remain, wouldn’t that be for him a cause for complaint?”⁵ But at other times “old age” (Hittite *miḫuntātar*) is used synonymously with “long years” or “longevity” (*talugaeš wetteš* = MU.ḪI.A GÍD.DA) as a positive thing.⁶

The infirmities of advanced age were accepted as innocent, since they befell all old people more or less equally. In land grant texts and similar documents we possess enumerations of the members of Hittite households. Usually they list the numbers of people according to sex and age. In one of these, however, quite appropriately immediately following the number of “old people” in the family is an entry “one blind man” (KBo 19.32:7').

Respect for one’s aged parents and care for them was commended in Hittite society, as throughout the ancient Near East. At least in part such respect for elderly parents was encouraged by their continued exercise of power and control of family wealth until their death and the threat of disinheritance if a child failed to provide proper respect and care. This is illustrated in the case of a (probably widowed) mother, who is entitled to disinherit a son who fails to care for her (Laws §171).⁷

But special kindness extended to old people other than one’s own parents was also commended. In his *Apology*, Ḫattušili III mentions that he took pity on Arma-Tarhunta and Zida since one of these was a blood relative and an old man.⁸ In this respect Ḫattušili portrays himself as possessing the *humanité* required of Hittite rulers.⁹ Ḫattušili’s father, king Muršili II, also boasts of his compassion for the elderly citizens of towns threatened by his army, when these were sent out as an embassy to beg for mercy.¹⁰

2. Blindness¹¹

As a Birth Defect. — We have no written record of any Hittite person born blind. But there are omen texts, necessarily deriving from Mesopotamia, concerning the portent of a child born blind:

“If a woman gives birth, and (the newborn) is blind, the head of the household (Akkadian *bēl bītim*) will not achieve success.”¹² In all likelihood, in Ḫatti as well as in Mesopotamia such a birth was a bad omen.

In Laws and Legal Contexts. — In the laws (§§7–8, Parallel Text §X) the most serious permanent injuries inflicted upon another person are blinding (*tašuwahḫ-*), the knocking out of teeth (*ZU₃=ŠU lak-*) and disabling from normal work (*karmalaššai*). The same sequence of the first two permanent injuries is followed in the Israelite laws: “an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth” (Exod. 21:24; Lev. 24:20; Deut. 19:21). Loss of sight severely limited a person’s ability to support himself, making him dependent upon others. Loss of more than one or two teeth could limit his ability to ingest solid food.

Blinding was the most common form of *divine* retribution employed against oath-breakers. One sees this most clearly in the so-called “Soldiers’ Oath,” where a blind man, a deaf man and a woman are presented before the soldiers to be sworn in, and the following is said:

“Whoever plots harm against king and queen, may the gods seize him, change him from man to woman, blind him like a blind man, deafen him like a deaf man, and destroy him together with his wives and children.”¹³

“Who transgresses these oaths and commits treason against the king of Hatti, and sets his eyes upon the land of Hatti as an enemy, may these oath deities seize him and blind and deafen his army. May one not see the another. May one not hear the other. ... may they fetter their feet ... and bind their hands (i.e., lame or paralyze them).”¹⁴

In this and other passages¹⁵ we see that the gods were invoked to punish traitors with blindness, deafness and lameness.

But Hittite judicial authorities themselves used blinding as a punishment. This is seen especially from threats made by the king in Middle Hittite letters to his officials in Tapikka.¹⁶ Thieving slaves were blinded as part of the penalty for their deed

and perhaps also to mark them as thieves.¹⁷ From other documents we learn that treaty partners of the Hittites were expected to apprehend, blind and send to the Hittite king anyone plotting treason.¹⁸ In addition, captives in battle were sometimes blinded in order to prevent their escape and reduce their threat to those holding them. I have discussed this elsewhere in connection with the subject of the treatment of captives.¹⁹ The parallel between the captives at Tapikka (Mašat)²⁰ and Šapinuwa (Ortaköy),²¹ who are blinded and work in mill houses, and the Danite captive Samson in Philistine custody (Judg. 16:21²²) is striking.²³ Also in the partially broken Middle Hittite text KBo 16.27 i 13–16 there is a sub-grouping of hostages (Hittite DUMU.MEŠ *šulluš*) who are described as “blind(ed)” (LÚ.MEŠ IGI.NU.GÁL).²⁴

And since in the Hittite view most opponents in battle — i.e., specifically those who were rebelling against Hatti and violating their oaths of fealty — were guilty of treason and perjury, it is even possible that their temporary blinding in battle was a punishment imposed upon them by the gods for this treason. The passage best illustrating this is from the Annals of Muršili II:

“The mighty Stormgod, my lord, had summoned for me the god Ḫašammili, and he (i.e., Ḫašammili) kept me hidden, so that no one saw me (as I approached the land of Piggainarešša for battle).”²⁵

In Rituals and Incantations. — Analogic magic, used so often in the cure of persons believed to be the target of sorcery, required that there be a *comparandum*, either simply verbal description or actual in the form of persons or objects displayed while the counter-spell was uttered. Thus, in an incantation designed to protect a client from harmful words of sorcery we find a verbal description serving as a *comparandum*:

“In a meadow there stands a *šišiyamma* tree. Under it sit a blind man, a deaf man, and a lame man. The blind man doesn’t see, the deaf man doesn’t hear, and the lame man doesn’t run. In the same way may the words of sorcery never see (this) client.”²⁶

The words “in the same way” set up the efficacious analogy. In another ritual a newborn piglet is displayed and the analogy is made between the piglet who cannot yet see and the curses made against a person who likewise should not be able to see him.²⁷ In these three men one sees a rough equivalent of the proverbial figures with hands over eyes, ears and mouth, whose names are “See No Evil,” “Hear No Evil,” and “Speak No Evil.”

In the Hittite festival called EZEN₄ *haššumaš* (“Festival of Procreation”), which Güterbock once studied as an example of a puberty rite for a Hittite prince,²⁸ a passage describes how the celebrants slaughter a he-goat, eat its flesh and take its hide, strip a blind man naked, beating him, and leading him to the “House of the Dead” (É *heštā*), where there is eating and drinking.²⁹ The symbolism of this procedure has never been explained, although Jacobsen’s suggestion, communicated by Güterbock (p. 102), that “this may have something to do with putting the old ego to rest now that the prince enters a new phase of his life” is plausible. In folklore he-goats are often symbols of male sexuality. The hide may have been for the prince to don. The blind man symbolizes the pre-pubescent prince who cannot “see” or experience sexuality. The “old ego” (per Jacobsen) is the pre-pubescent prince, stripped and left for dead. The pubescent prince is endowed with the rampant sexuality of the he-goat.

In Myths. — Apparently “neutral” with regard to revealing social attitudes is the description of the monster Ullikummi given to Šawuška in the Song of Ullikummi:

“Before whom are you singing? And before whom do you fill your mouth with w[ind]? The man (i.e., the monster) is deaf: he doesn’t hear! He is blind in his eyes: he does not see! And he has no pity!”³⁰

Šawuška is being warned of the futility of her attempt to influence the monster by her beauty and music, so that he would soften towards her brother Teššub. It is futile because the monster is protected from her charms by his very lack of sight and hearing. While it is true that in the myth this

monster is the opponent of the god Teššub, the protagonist, it is unlikely that the characterization of the monster as deaf and blind is intended to associate these disabilities with divine punishment of evil. On the other hand, the fact that his inability to see and hear is linked with an inability to feel pity shows that he thereby lacks qualities all of which are viewed as essential to humans. One who has sight but lacks pity is only part human.

3. Deafness and Loss of Sense of Smell

Loss of hearing and smell not only handicaps a person in social contexts, but could put him at risk, not allowing him to detect impending dangers. This is obvious from the example KBo 4.4 iii 33–35 cited above (“In Laws and Legal Contexts” and n. 25), in which the citizens of Piggainarešša are totally surprised by Muršili’s army.

Many of the same illustrative passages cited above for blindness include deafness as well. The gods could punish by creating both blindness and deafness (cf. KBo 6.34 i 15–24 above, “In Laws and Legal Contexts” and n. 14). Another passage from an unflattering “hymn” to the Hurrian “Ištar,” Šauwuška, mentions her ability to make people drowsy, so that they cannot hear.

“For him [who] is beloved [by you] you make the town’s [people] drowsy and cover him, (so that) thanks to you, Ištar, those [people] do not hear anything (when the man and his lover make love).”³¹

Although judicial authorities could blind a culprit, there was no way that they could make him deaf, other than by cutting off his outer ears. Similarly, by cutting over the outer parts of the nose, his ability to smell could be severely curtailed. Mutilation of both nose and ears would also mark a thieving slave as such.

“If a slave burglarizes a house, he (or his master on his behalf) must give (the stolen goods) back in full, and give six shekels of silver as the fine for theft. He (i.e., the offended house owner?) shall mutilate (or: cut off, *kukkurškizzi*)³² the slave’s nose and ears, and they shall give him back to his master” (Laws §95).³³

A similar fate befell a slave caught committing arson (Laws §99).

A slave owner was also entitled to mutilate the nose, eyes, or ears of an insubordinate slave: “If ever a slave angers his master, they either put him to death, or mutilate (*idālawahḫanzi*) his nose, eyes (or) ears.”³⁴

The association of this act with “put him to death” shows how severe a punishment it was, second only to death. Although the English verb “anger” might sound like an ordinary reaction of a displeased master, it is clear that here it refers to an extreme measure. Here the biblical phrase “he (scil. the slave) is his (scil. the master’s) money” (Exod. 21:21) expresses the reality in all ancient Near Eastern cultures. A slave was a valuable piece of property, not lightly lost.

4. Speech Disabilities

A person’s inability to speak could stem from a variety of causes. Some people are born with this disability.³⁵ Others lose the faculty of speech by suffering a severe emotional trauma (hysterical aphonia). And as a severe punishment one might have one’s tongue cut out.³⁶ In rituals which threaten divine punishment for those who offend the gods it is said: “May the flint knife cut (out) his tongue; may they blind his eyes with a ...; may they take away his teeth.”³⁷

The most celebrated case of speech loss through emotional shock is that suffered by Muršili II and recorded in great detail in the text customarily referred to as “Muršili’s Speech Loss” (German “Muršilis Sprachlähmung”).³⁸ According to this text, the king was driving in his chariot to a distant city to perform a festival, when a violent storm broke, and the king was terrified by lightning and thunder. The guilt feelings that he attached to what must have seemed a manifestation of the gods’ anger against him percolated in his subconscious and manifested themselves in dreams.³⁹ These became gradually more and more explicit and frightening until in one dream the hand of the god touched the mouth of the king. And when he awoke, he was unable to speak. The ritual prescribed by the king’s advisors involved destruction of all items of the king’s intimate and personal life and the sending of a “substitute ox” (Hurrian

puḫugari) to a distant temple for sacrifice. Inability to speak was a particularly crippling disability for the king, who could only communicate his wishes to his subjects by gestures. And since the king may well have never learned to write, this avenue of communication was not open to him either.

In this case the disability was judged to be a clear case of divine punishment. It does not, however, resolve the question with which we opened this article: whether all persons with severe physical disabilities were regarded as having been punished, either by gods or by human judicial officials.

5. Lameness

The Hittite word for a lame person, *ikniyant-*, occurs in only one text, KUB 12.62, quoted above ("In Rituals and Incantations" and n. 26).

6. Other Physical Deformities

In the Soldiers' Oath ritual the Old Woman practitioner sets before the soldiers a statuette depicting a man with a swollen stomach, apparently suffering from a disease like dropsy.⁴⁰ She then casts a spell on the soldiers, so that whoever breaks his loyalty oath would swell up like this man. The procedure has long reminded scholars familiar with the Bible of the Israelite ritual for a wife suspected of infidelity by her husband (Num. 19). She too is given water to drink containing the

ashes of the red heifer, and a curse is pronounced over her, so that if she is guilty of infidelity she will swell up in her limbs. This raises the question whether persons suffering from dropsy would automatically be suspected of having violated some important pledge or oath.

7. Impotence and Infertility

Among the curses placed upon those who violate the loyalty oaths in the Soldiers' Oath there is one directed to fertility:

"Just as this malt has no propagation, and they do not carry it to the field and make it into seed, and they do not make it into bread and store it in the storehouse, for him who transgresses these oaths and takes part in evil against the king, ..., may the oath deities destroy his future in the same way, and may his wives not bear him a son or daughter."⁴¹

III. SUMMARY

Our survey of the textual evidence has proven insufficient to provide us with a clear view of the social attitudes of the Hittites toward persons with physical disabilities. The suppositions we made at the outset remain possible, but we have not found explicit evidence to confirm them to the exclusion of alternative ones.

NOTES

- 1 J. Klinger, "Fremde und Aussenseiter in Hatti," in V. Haas (ed.), *Aussenseiter und Randgruppen*, Konstanz, 1992, pp. 187–212.
- 2 Law §95: "If a slave burglarizes a house, he shall give (back the stolen items) precisely in full value. He shall pay six shekels of silver for the theft. He shall cut/cut off the nose and ears of the slave, and they will give him back to his owner. If he steals much, they will impose much upon him; if he steals little, they will impose little upon him. [If] his owner says: 'I will make compensation for him,' then he shall make it. But [if] he refuses, he shall lose that slave."
- 3 In the Soldiers' Oath, for example, it is said of he who violates his oath of loyalty: "Let these oath deities seize him and blind (him) and his army," KBo 6.34 i 18–19 (E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris, 1971, 427). In lines iii 6–9 of the same text it reads: "Let the oath

deities seize him. Let them change him from a man into a woman; let them make him sightless like a blind man; let them make him unable to hear like a deaf man."

- 4 For a survey of Hittite textual evidence on longevity and the life span, see H.A. Hoffner, Jr., "Hittite Terms for the Life Span," in J. Marks and R. Good (eds.), *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East (Festschrift for Marvin Pope)*, Guilford CT, 1987, pp. 53–55.
- 5 The Hittite reads: *māmmā dandukišnašš=a DUMU-aš ukuri huišwanza ēšta man=ašta mān / [a]ntuwaḫḫaš idaluwa inan arta man=at=ši natta kattawatar* KUB 30.10 obv. 22–23 (Kantuzili's prayer, OH/MS). Note also KUB 1.16 iii 31–32, ..., and GIG-an=ši=kan *dāš miḫuntatar=še=kan dāš / mayatatar=ma=ši* EGIR-pa *paiš ḫullatar=ma=ši* / EGIR-pa *paiš* "It took sickness from him, it took old age from him, it gave back to him youth, it gave back to him vigor(?)" KUB 29.1 ii 36–38 (OH/NS).

- 6 KBo 11.10 ii 26–28 (rit.), KBo 11.72 + 20.92 iii 41–43 (rit.).
- 7 Edited by H.A. Hoffner, Jr., *The Laws of the Hittites. A Critical Edition* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 23), Leiden, 1997, 136f., English translation by Hoffner in W.W. Hallo and K.L. Younger (eds.), *The Context of Scripture* Vol. 2: *Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*, Leiden, 2000, 2:116f.
- 8 Col. III 25–26; English translations in *CHD* L–N 224 sub 2a, E.H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, Philadelphia, 1935, 75 §10; and Hallo and Younger (above, n. 7, *Context of Scripture*), 1:202 §10a, right-hand column.
- 9 On this subject see A. Archi, “L’humanité des hittites,” in E. Masson (ed.), *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, Paris, 1979, pp. 37–48.
- 10 KBo 3.4 iii 13–15, cited with translation in *CHD* L–N 224 sub 2a; edited in A. Goetze, “Die Annalen des Muršiliš,” *MVAG* 38 (1933), pp. 68–71.
- 11 A short survey of textual references to blind or judicially blinded persons was given by S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VI. Dizi — Sa. 35*, Ankara, 1991, 336, in his commentary to Maşat letter 58. See also p. 310.
- 12 KBo 6.25 + 13.35 ii 3–4.
- 13 KBo 6.34 i 5–11, English translation in Hallo and Younger (above, n. 7, *Context of Scripture*), 1:165. On the transformation of men (i.e., warriors) into women, see Hittite ritual manipulation of the gender-marked items of attire (spindles, distaffs, bows and arrows) in order to reverse a spell to make the client into a woman; examples given in H.A. Hoffner, Jr., “Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity: Their Use in Ancient Near Eastern Sympathetic Magic Rituals,” *JBL* 85 (1966), pp. 326–334, who uses it to explain Deut. 22:5 and related passages.
- 14 KBo 6.34 i 15–24, translation in *ANET* 353 and Hallo and Younger (above, n. 7, *Context of Scripture*), 1:165.
- 15 “May these oath deities seize him (scil. the oath-breaker) and blind his army as well” KBo 6.34 i 18–19; “And now, behold, [the gods] have blinded him in the place of the oath-taking” KBo 6.34 i 13–14; and see KBo 21.6 obv. 10–11, which accompanies the presentation of blind and deaf persons with the words: “These are blind, but these others are deaf. These first ones cannot see; these others cannot hear.”
- 16 Alp (above, n. 11), 14:10–14, 16:11–15, 84 obv. 17–19.
- 17 KUB 13.9 ii 12–13.
- 18 See KUB 31.44 ii 6–12 (and KUB 31.42 ii 10–14).
- 19 H.A. Hoffner, Jr., “The Treatment and Long-term Use of Captives in Hittite Texts,” in H.G. Güterbock, H.A. Hoffner, Jr., and K.A. Yener (eds.), *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History*, Winona Lake IN, 2002, pp. 61–71.
- 20 Alp (above, n. 11), 58 and 59. See also *ibid.*, 102, a list of hostages, some blinded, who are held for ransom.
- 21 Although the Ortaköy texts mentioning this have not yet been published, there is allusion to them by the excavator-epigrapher in A. Süel, “Ortaköy’ün Hittit çağındaki adı,” *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* 59 (1995), pp. 271–283.
- 22 וַיֹּאחֲזוּהוּ פִלְשְׁתִּים וַיִּנְקְרוּ אֶת־עֵינָיו וַיְרִידוּ אוֹתוֹ עֲזָתָה וַיֹּאסְרוּהוּ “And the Philistines seized him and gouged out his eyes, and brought him down to Gaza, and bound him with bronze fetters; and he ground at the mill in the prison.”
- 23 To my knowledge no one who has discussed the Maşat or Ortaköy passages to date has noted the Samson parallel. It is developed in my article in Güterbock, Hoffner and Yener (above, n. 19).
- 24 Cf. also KUB 40.36 i 7' = KBo 8.35 i 2'; KBo 17.48 obv. 3, all in broken contexts pertaining to warfare and captives.
- 25 KBo 4.4 iii 33–35, edited with German translation in Goetze (above, n. 10), 126f. Even more explicit, because it uses the verb “to blind,” is the annals fragment KUB 40.3 ii 62–82, where we read: “[The mighty storm-god displayed his] divine power, and he blinded the eyes [of the enemy], so that they could [no longer] see.”
- 26 Ú.SAL-i ^{GIŠ}šišiyamma arta kattan=ma tašwanza du<d>dumiyanza / ašanzi tašwanza aušzi lē duddumiyanza=ma ištamašzi / lē ikniyanza piddai lē Uḫ₉.ḪI.A-ašš=a uddananteš / EN.SISKUR QATAMMA lē uwanzi KUB 12.62 rev. 7–10 (cf. also lines 11–14). For the force of lē as a categorical negative here, see H.A. Hoffner, Jr., “Studies in Hittite Vocabulary, Syntax and Style. Hommage à M. Emmanuel Laroche,” *JCS* 29 (1977), pp. 151f., and *CHD* L–N 57.
- 27 KBo 39.8 ii 46–49 (ritual of ‘Maštigga) with duplicate KBo 39.10:4–5.
- 28 H.G. Güterbock, “An Initiation Rite for a Hittite Prince,” in D. Sinor (ed.), *American Oriental Society, Middle West, Semi-Centennial Volume: A Collection of Original Essays*, Bloomington IN, 1969, pp. 99–103.
- 29 Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Bogazköy Tabletleri 1.29 rev. 39–41.
- 30 KUB 36.12 ii 9–13 (Ullik. NS).
- 31 KUB 24.7 i 44–47, edited by H.A. Hoffner, Jr., *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock* (Assyriological Studies 26), Chicago, 1997, 67 and 71 (reprinted from H.G. Güterbock, “A Hurro-Hittite Hymn to Ishtar,” *JAOS* 103 [1983], pp. 155–164).
- 32 The verb *kukkurške-* is a doubly intensive derivation (reduplicated root *kukkur-* and added iterative-durative suffix *-ške-*) of the root *kuer-* “to cut.” As such it might mean “to cut off completely” or “to cut up (by mutilation).” Cf. discussion of the two possible interpretations in Hoffner (above, n. 7), p. 197.
- 33 KBo 6.2 iv 44–46, edited by Hoffner (above, n. 7), 93f., and commentary on §99 on p. 197.

- 34 KUB 13.4 i 28–30, edited by A. Süel, *Hitit kaynaklarında tapınak görevlileri ile ilgili bir direktif metni* (Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya, Fakültesi Yayınları 350), Ankara, 1985, 24f.
- 35 For Akkadian text references to malformed births without tongue or with multiple tongues, *CAD* L 210 (*lišānu* 1a).
- 36 For the Akkadian text references, *CAD* L 210f. sub 1b.
- 37 KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 27–28, edited in G.M. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 29), Wiesbaden, 1983, 178f.; KUB 35.145 iii 19, edited in F. Starke, *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 30), Wiesbaden, 1985, 230f.
- 38 Laroche (above, n. 3, *CTH*), 486, edited by A. Goetze and H. Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlähmung XXIV/1*, *Det Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser*, Copenhagen, 1934, and R. Lebrun, L'aphasie de Mursili II = *CTH* 486, *Hethitica* 6 (1985), pp. 103–137.
- 39 See the discussion in A.L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, Philadelphia, 1956, pp. 230f.
- 40 English translation in Hallo and Younger (above, n. 7, *Context of Scripture*), 1:166 §11. In his edition of this text, N. Oettinger, *Die Militärischen Eide der Hethiter* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 22), Wiesbaden, 1976, pp. 71–73, has suggested that dropsy as a punishment for oath-breaking was a legacy of proto-Indo-European religion.
- 41 English translation in Hallo and Younger (above, n. 7, *Context of Scripture*), 1:166.



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Author(s): Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Source: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Jul. - Sep., 2003, Vol. 123, No. 3
(Jul. - Sep., 2003), pp. 617-625

Published by: American Oriental Society

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3217753>

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On a Hittite Lexicographic Project

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One must certainly admire the pace at which Jaan Puhvel is producing his *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, although in fact volume five (2001) is appearing four years after volume four (1997). This is a much smaller volume than its predecessors, even though with the aid of the *CHD L* volume, which Puhvel quotes at great length, much of his interpretive work was done for him. As in previous volumes, one finds at the end a section of corrections and additions to previous volumes. I will not attempt to evaluate them, since that would mean reviewing more volumes in the set than this one.

The complaints raised by this and other reviewers of earlier volumes as to the general layout and methodology have been largely ignored, or at least rejected in silence. One of the most inconvenient features of this dictionary is the lack of dummy entries with cross reference to the lemmas under which the words in question are discussed. With the appearance of volume five and its section entitled "Index to Volumes 1–5" a user might have expected an index to Hittite words discussed, since many of them are to be found out of their alphabetical order. Alas, many other languages are indexed, but not Hittite itself! This is a grievous mistake, which I sincerely hope can yet be remedied by a small supplement. Another serious flaw is the lack of any attempt to date the forms according to the established dating of the texts. The importance of this has been shown time and again. Later spellings can only be understood in the light of earlier stages. Only rarely does the author write "Old Hittite" by a reference. But even here one doesn't know if he means "Old Hittite composition (in later copy)" or "text written in the Old Hittite script." I have complained in my earlier review of volume four about the non-standard abbreviations used (Hoffner 2000). In the "List of abbreviations (addition to volumes 1–4)" a new one which will cause confusion has been added. "KBoVM" is Puhvel's abbreviation for what most of us are now denoting as "VS NS 12" or "VS 28." Since "KBo" is the standard abbreviation for the series *Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköy*, "KBoVM" is going to strike many users as a typo for this well-known series.

I realize that not all Hittitologists feel qualified to make independent judgments on the dating of individual texts, but it does appear that enough of a general consensus has emerged to make it mandatory for lexicographers to distinguish spellings of words in Old Hittite manuscripts (*CHD* siglum "OS") from those in later texts. Here the various writings of the "dat.-loc." of *lahḫa-* are given without any hint of which ones are diachronically anterior.

We all admire Puhvel for his considerable achievement, especially volumes three and four, which covered terrain not yet treated by other projects such as the *CHD* or *HW*². I also admire the good coverage he gives to secondary literature (editions, etc.). And considering how long it is taking the *CHD* and *HW*² to advance toward completion, Puhvel is to be commended to staying on a good schedule of production. In spite of the criticisms voiced below, all Hittitologists should feel a genuine debt of gratitude to Puhvel for his hard work in producing this dictionary.

This is a review article of *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, volume 5: *L, Indices to volumes 1–5*. By JAAN PUHVEL. Trends in Linguistics, Documentation, vol. 18. Berlin: MOUTON DE GRUYTER, 2001. Pp. ix + 187. DM 256.

The following are specific corrections:

lahḫa-: Puhvel uses English words (especially in his lemmas) in a playful manner which can be quite misleading. The word “warpath” to my knowledge is exclusively used in the phrase “be on the warpath” when referring to Amerindian braves. The word seems quite inappropriate for Hittite kings who did not put on war paint or do dances prior to battle. One finds rather too many cases of inconsistent and inaccurate rendering of the same words in consecutively cited passages. ^DUTU-ŠI (literally “my sun-god”) is rendered, following the *CHD*, “his majesty” in ABoT 14 v 12, but “the king” in KUB 14.1 rev. 13 (both on the same page). The pres. sg. 2 verb is rendered “thou goest” in one passage, but “you summon” in another. Cf. p. 5 “thy majesty, our master, hast been . . .” (Note that here, without expressed pret. *e-eš-ta*, it is unlikely that the tense is past; rather “You, your majesty, our lord, are a campaigner.”)

Puhvel is quite right that the *CHD* proposal of two types of journey, one a military campaign and the second a commercial trip, has not withstood the test of time. Were I rewriting the *CHD* L words today, I would certainly not make this distinction. It is quite possible, however, that a non-military sense inheres in several of the occurrences of the derived noun *lahḫiyala-*, as the *CHD* correctly noted.

I am disappointed that Puhvel refuses to distinguish the (singular) case in *-a* which the *CHD* terms the “allative” from the dative-locative in *-i*. I have never seen the cogency of either Kammenhuber’s or Puhvel’s positions on this matter. Fortunately, most Hittitologists do recognize the distinction, which of course only applies to Old and Middle Hittite, not to the latest phase of the language, when the allative uses were assumed by the locative.

Puhvel’s attempt to show how KASKAL (*palša-*) differed from *lahḫa-*, while correct in discarding the civilian connotation for the latter, is unduly restrictive for *palša-*. It is my impression that “trek” in standard English always refers to a journey which is especially slow and arduous. In my judgment *palša-* simply means “journey, trip.” The bilingual passage from the Proclamation of Telepinu in no way equates Hittite *lahḫa-* “campaign” with Sumerian KARAS “army camp.” Locomotion never inheres in KARAS; it is a location, “encampment,” or a group of combatants, “expeditionary force, army.”

lahḫiyai-: Of the eight(!) translations proposed for this verb, the last three—“take on, confront, brave”—can safely be ignored. Since, as the *CHD* (sub 1 b) correctly notes, the same text clearly distinguishes the acc. ^{URU}Kammaman RA-zi from ^{URU}Kammama la-ḫiyaizzi, the form ^{URU}Kammama cannot be intended as an acc. “stem form.” Since the allative is non-productive in NH, one would think that a dat.-loc. of this toponym is intended. Therefore, since “attack GN” in English sounds like an acc., Puhvel would have done better to stick with “operate against GN.” Since “leafy mountains” hardly pose a danger to the king and his armed troops, it would be better not to translate here “go brave the leafy mountains,” but rather (so *CHD*) to take the acc. here as acc. of extent (“Go campaign throughout the wooded mountain areas”). The same is true of KBo 12.59 (cf. McMahon, *Hittite State Cult*, 132f., cited by Puhvel), where ÍD has to be understood as “river country” since this is the acc. obj. (of extent of territory) of not only *lahḫiškizzi* “campaigns in” but also *šiyatalliškizzi* “hunts in.” A translation “braves” for *lahḫiškizzi* is not only unnecessary, it is counter-indicated. No one uses the obsolete transcriptional value *tin* any more for the DIN sign (cf. P’s *la-aḫ-ḫi-ia-at-tin*), least of all in rendering the ending of the pret./imp. pl. 2, which should always be written *-tén* (cf. HZL). *lah(h)iyai(i)-*. In KUB 5.1 ii 17, quoted in *CHD* L-N 9, *n=aš* ^{URU}*Lihaya=ma* . . . the force of *nu* . . . *-ma* is always that of an alter-

native question: “Or when . . . them in L.” Puhvel’s “When I take on them [and] L.” is impossible grammatically: *-ma* never joins two nouns within a phrase.

laḥanni-: As far as I know, there is no reason one would prefer Puhvel’s “flask, flagon” to the *CHD*’s “bottle or pitcher.” Its primary use with the verb *šipand-* shows it was used for pouring libations. Puhvel has conflated this entry with extraneous forms. Inst. sg. *la-aḥ-ni-it* has nothing to do with the vessel named *laḥanna/i-*. Nor has the Hurrian word(!) in VBoT 4:6’, which Puhvel reads as “^{URUDU}*la-ḥi-ni-eš*.” The other forms are fairly consistent. As the *CHD* notes, this word is largely confined to Hurrian festivals and rituals, and may be derived ultimately from a foreign source.

lah(h)anza(n)-: I have no quarrel with the summary of evidence from the *CHD* occurrences or the denotation “migratory waterfowl.” The more narrow translation “loon” has, so far as I can see, only the etymological supposition to commend it. In Puhvel’s contribution to my festschrift he questions whether the *CHD*’s claim that the *laḥanza* belonged to the duck family could be sustained and note that the *laḥanza* might belong to the family genus *Gavia* instead of *Anatina*. I find no problem with that *per se*. I do wish, however, that he would not translate MUŠEN ḤURRI as “drake, duck,” as if this rather specific bird name (*CHD* “shelduck”) were a generic term for *Anatina*. To the admirable discussion in the *CHD* I can only add that the white body coloration indicated by the silver overlay in the models described in *HTR* is supported also by the Sumerian reading [za-la-ag = UD = l] *a²-ḥa-an-za-na-aš* in KBo 1.34 obv. 8 assumed by *MSL* 3:61, namely ZALAG “bright, white.”

laḥḥi(t)-: Since the juxtaposition of *laḥḥiš=aš=šta kišaru* . . . ^{GIŠ}*intaluzzi=ma=aš kišaru* “Let him/it become a *l*. . . or let him become an *intaluzzi*” indicates that both *laḥḥiš* and ^{GIŠ}*intaluzzi* denote concrete objects, it is highly unlikely that *laḥḥi-* means “relief” or that it is a *t*-stem. The parallelism with ^{GIŠ}*intaluzzi=ma=aš*, as well as the established rule of Hittite syntax that the clitic 3rd sg. subj. pron. is obligatory with the verb *kiš-*, demonstrate that *la-aḥ-ḥi-ša-aš-ta* cannot be a neut. nom.-acc. sg. *laḥḥiša* + *-šta*, but rather a common sg. nom. *laḥḥiš* + *-aš* + *-šta*.

A noun *laḥlahḥa-* n. com. has been overlooked. It occurs in [*na*] *aš-za la-aḥ-la-aḥ-ḥa-aš ki-ša-at* KBo 42.74:8’.

laḥlahḥiya-: I would prefer to see the gloss “anxiety” somewhere in this protracted list of synonyms, and I am not convinced by “scurry, scamper,” although admittedly the verb is used for an army “milling” around its leader. General disorganized movement is certainly intended, but to me “scurry” conjures up images of squirrels, mice, and other timid ground creatures, which is not intended by this verb. It definitely is applied to large animals like horses. The derived noun *laḥlahḥima-* definitely conveys our idea of anxiety. Puhvel boldly states that the *CHD* is wrong about MUŠEN.ḪI.A *miyanaš*, which he translates “birds of proliferation,” but he gives no argument to refute the lengthy (and to me convincing) excursus in *CHD* L–N, 232f. The gen. of *miyatar* ought to be *miyannaš*, not *meyannaš* (as MUŠEN.ḪI.A *meyannaš* is several times spelled), and “of proliferation” makes no sense at all in the context. The sole putative ex. of *meyannaš* for *miyatar* in the *CHD* is “156/b right col. 8,” which is never cited and cannot therefore be verified as a form of *miyatar*.

laḥpa-, laḥma-: The *CHD* cautiously stated that “It is possible that *laḥpa-* ‘ivory’ and *laḥma-* are two spellings of the same word.” Puhvel has taken a step further and simply assumed that they are without any further argumentation. He has also included many logographic occurrences of KAXUD AM.SI, which we did not do in the *CHD*, since we were

still uncertain about the meaning of *lahpa-*. In the *HW*² or *CHD*, which specialize in semantic investigations, the inclusion of the logograms would have a purpose. I am not sure what they contribute to an etymological dictionary such as this. And if *lahpa-* should turn out not to be ivory, the inclusion of the logograms here would be misleading. Contrary to the summary paragraph here and Puhvel 2001, the Hittites did not know the elephant as *pí-e-ri-* and as *lahpa-/lahma-*. The identification of the former word is unclear (cf. *CHD* P, 312, where it is shown that the *pēreš* is paired with and therefore not included among the *huitar* “animals”), and *lahpa-* may mean “ivory,” but is not yet attested as a designation of an animal.

lahhura-: The translation “bench” would only be appropriate if one thinks of a sturdy work-table like a carpenter’s “bench.” Otherwise the English word conjures up images of a low seat, which is not reflective of the Hittite evidence. One can now add another material from which the *lahhura-* was made, namely cedar (KBo 21.14 + KBo 41.32 obv. 6’).

la(h)huwai-: The number of attested forms is enormous, as shown already in the *CHD* article. The variety is bewildering and begs for historical analysis, which unfortunately is not provided here. Which forms are older, and how do they develop into the later forms? I also do not see how one can simply lump all the forms under a single stem *lah(h)u(wa)-*. It was already clear to us in the *CHD* L (1980) that forms like imp. sg. 2 *la-a-aḥ* demand a stem *lah(h)-*, and that others plausibly belonged with that stem or a stem *lāhw-*: *la-a-ḥu-un*. The pret. sg. 3 *la-a-ḥu-uš* “he cast,” which was published after *CHD* L was in print, also shows a stem *lāhu-/lāhw-*. The shorter stem is reflected in the imperfective-aspect stem *lahuški-*. Puhvel’s attempt to make these forms fit under one stem is unconvincing. To say that the final *w* in imp. sg. 2 *la-a-aḥ* is dropped (p. 23) flies in the face of the parallel case of *ekw-* “drink,” which has pret. sg. 1 *e-ku-un* (like *la-a-ḥu-un*) and imp. sg. 2 *e-ku* (not **e-ek*). The imp. sg. 2 of the stem *lāhw-* would be **la-a-ḥu-*, not *la-a-aḥ*.

The existence of a nominal *šer lahuwaš* is uncertain: perhaps KBo 18.181 rev. 33 is a valid example; but Puhvel has misunderstood KUB 33.45++ iii 23–26, where *lāhuwaš* is a finite verb form, and *alpaš arāiš* a new clause. Likewise embarrassing is his misreading of KUB 41.40 i 19–20, which should be rendered ANA QATI LUGAL watar parā [t]uḥḥuešnit 3-ŠU laḥwāi. From this misreading he has constructed a nominal *parā lahḥuešna-* “pouring cup”!

lah(h)u(wa)rnuz(z)i-: The various apparent stems and genders are explained by Puhvel differently than I would prefer. Instead of positing heterogeneity (both neut. and com. forms), I would prefer to see the apparently neuter forms as collectives, the com. pl. forms in *-eš* and *-uš* (both serving as nom. subjects of the transitive verb *epp-*) as non-collectives, and the plural forms in *-anteš* (which are all subjects of transitive verbs) as ergative, not as evidence for an independent stem *lahḥurnuzziyant-*, which would be artificially confined to subjects of transitive verbs. On p. 27 ad KUB 56.39 iv 26–27 the end of line 26 must be read ^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ḥa-az-qa-ra[-ia-az]*, as I show in Hoffner 1998a. This word when the subject of a transitive verb has the ergative ending *-anza/-az*.

lai-: In KUB 31.101:9–10 the *CHD* (mng. 5) noted that, since there is no word space between *wa-ar-pí* and *la-a-e-er*, it is possible that this is a single word. This observation is unfortunately ignored in *HED* L. Contrary to *HED* (“*CHD* 5, wrongly, ‘from’”) the *CHD* also included the possible translation “in.”

lak-: It is somewhat rash to assert solely on the basis of one hardly uncontroversial and broken OH passage (KBo 21.22 rev. 46–49) that in OHitt, the active verb *lak-* has the intransitive meaning “lie, recline.” Over twenty years ago the *CHD* attempted the translation “train it (i.e., the grapevine) on your back,” which admittedly I would now be hesitant to defend. For one thing, there is no “it” expressed as an object. One would have expected *na-na-pa* instead of *na-pa*, with the *-an* referring back to the *maḥla-*. But elsewhere, even in OH/OS, the active forms of *lak-* are all transitive, as Puhvel’s own cited examples show. If this were an exception, I would find a translation “fall on your back” more plausible in view of the massive documentation of the meaning “fall” with the middle of this verb. The *lagan ḫar(k)-* construction with *ḫar(k)-* in the imperative is always to be rendered “keep (something/-one) . . . -ed”, as even Puhvel’s examples usually show (“keep your ear trained”). For this reason it is impossible to accept his translation of KUB 36.110 rev. 9–10 as “may every land lie supine,” which he proposes against *CHD* mng. 2. Regarding the idiom *parā lagan ḫar(k)-* “keep (ears) turned toward,” Puhvel’s insistence that “Rather than ‘perk, prick, cock’, the metaphor resembles ‘keep your ear to the ground,’” the presence of *parā* shows rather that the position of the cocked ears of dog or equid, which incline forward (*parā*), is what underlies the expression (see already *CHD*). Keeping the ear to the ground is hardly *parā*. I fail to see where a translation “they lay it at . . .” for *anda laknuwanzi* in KUB 30.19+ i 14 is superior to the *CHD*’s “they bend (i.e., train) it in and around the table of the deceased,” which Puhvel labels as “wrong.” The iterative-durative force of the reduplicated *lilakki* was already pointed out in Hoffner 1975: 139–40 with note 34 (as noted also in *CHD*). Puhvel’s surprise at the geminate *-kk-* in *lilakki* is strange in view of *wewakki* and *wewakkinun* when compared with *wekanzi*, *wekun*, *wekir* and participle *wekant-*.

lakkarwant-: Stefanini’s stem in *-ant-* posited for this word and followed by Puhvel is a bit risky in view of the lack of oblique case forms. I will believe it when I see those forms. I also doubt the viability of the translation “poddled leguminous vegetable, legume,” which corresponds to none of the ubiquitous Sumerograms for vegetable products known as Boğazköy. One expects on the basis of them a more restricted meaning such as “pea(s),” “bean(s),” etc.

lakšai-, lakšena-, lakšina-: The guess “pin, needle” depends on whether the *pašk[anza[?]]* in KBo 17.65 rev. 56 belongs to the same sentence (a predicate[?]) as the *lakšaiš* in the preceding line. The proximity to ^{KUŠ}*annanuzin* “bridle, halter” indicates the likely semantic range of *lakše/ina-*, as noted already by Neu.

I miss an entry for ^{KUŠ}*laggašd(a)-*, on which see *CHD*.

lala-: The apparent distributive repetitious *la-a-li la-a-li* may not be dat.-loc. at all (*pace* P.), but collective, matching the vocative EME.ḪI.A EME.ḪI.A “Tongues! Tongues!” in KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 22–24. This would explain the apparent neuter agreement of EME.ḪI.A in KUB 12.34 + KUB 15.39 i 10, 12, etc., cited in *CHD* L, 21.

lala(k)ueš(š)a-: The translation “ant” is sufficient. “Emmet” is simply an archaic word for the ant, not a word of differing meaning. Puhvel’s account of the origin of *lala(k)ueša-* from *lala(k)ueššar* on the basis of a form without final *r* stretches credulity. Melchert 1988 (and Melchert 1993) has shown that loss of final *r* in such nouns follows a regular phonological pattern and distinguishes plural (with loss) from singular (without loss). There would be no reason in a collective noun like *lala(k)ueššar* to have distinct singular and plural forms, and for this reason we have (as yet) no example of loss of final *r* in this word.

lalla(m)puri(ya)-: If a word occurs only in Kizzuwatnean rituals, as this does, and exhibits a spelling variation of the type *m—mp—p*, it is obviously a Hurrian, not a Hattic, word. I don't think one should waste one's time with folk etymologies of the type indulged in here (*lala-* "tongue" + *puri-* "lip"). But if the word is a foreign word and possibly a compound, it might have been useful to call readers' attention to the bread name ^{NINDA}*ampura-* (Hoffner 1974).

lalu-: Apparently Puhvel is unaware of the precise meaning of Akkadian *izbu*. According to both major dictionaries it means a malformed birth, a fetal anomaly. It has nothing to do *per se* with whether or not the birth was an abortion. Any normal-term birth might produce a malformed product. Furthermore, the term can refer to either animal or human births, the former certainly not the result of abortion. KUB 44.61 rev. 19–21 is wrongly read. One should read: *nu tappin enuz[i n=an=kan] / [AN]A ^{UZU}IŠARI-ŠU anda zikkizzi* "one heats a t., and places it against his penis."

lalukki-: Puhvel rejects Calvert Watkins' proposal that there was a class of verbs in Hittite with stems in *-e-* called by him "denominative statives." Both his argumentation and the considerable number of examples of this verb stem type seem to me wholly convincing. In practice the two stems *lalukke-* and *lalukkešš-* may have been synonymous to the Hittite speakers, but historically they arose from distinctly different concepts. See Hoffner 1998b. I see no need to use such coinages as "starswarm" for a group of stars, when a perfectly good term already exists, namely "constellation." The sequence *nu-uš-še-eš-ta* in KBo 32.14 ii 44–45 can be analyzed either as *n=uš=še=šta* "and them on it" or *nu=šše=šta* "and on it." But in any case the transcription "*na-aš-še-šta*" is incorrect. The 2 sg. pres. form of *lalukkešnu-*, ZALAG.GA-*nu-ši* KUB 56.19 i 13, ii 25, has been overlooked. A second example of *la-lu-uk-ke-eš-nu-ud-du* is HKM 16:38 (Güterbock in Fs Alkim, 206f.). To *lalukkiwant-* add the neut. nom.-acc. ZALAG.GA-*an* KUB 33.71 iii 15. To *lalukkima-* add the nom. sg. form ZALAG.GA-*a* KBo 1.34 ii 1 and KUB 57.116 obv. 16. To the acc. sg. also add the many examples of the KIN token ZALAG.GA-*an*.

laman: Add the verbal subst. *lam-ni-ia-u-wa-ar* KBo 26.19 obv. 11. The clause in HKM 70 (cited as "Mašat 75/51" 8–10) is mistranslated. The *-za* in the clause shows that the subject is "you," not "[it]." The *kāš* in KUB 13.4 ii 33–34 is not to be translated "this," but "such-and-such."

lammar: I find the reading *lammar* TAR-*tan*, where TAR has the meaning "cut" (*karš-*), not attested elsewhere at Boğazköy, quite unconvincing. The word *tar-ta-an* should be read as fully syllabic, even if we cannot yet identify the verb *tart(a)-* elsewhere.

lap(p)-: In KUB 17.8 iv 23 *ÍD-ni pehuter* cannot mean "they took to the river [apparently . . . the fever-heat, *lappiyaš*]." The simple fact is that the *pehute-* (as opposed to *peda-*) takes as its object living beings capable of walking, and the correct translation is "to lead, conduct." It is not Beckman (*Birth Rituals*, 14), but Puhvel who has the wrong translation of KUB 3.35 obv. 4–5. His reading is incorrect as well, since the signs of the word after *ÍD-az* are not [*a-a*]-*an-ta-za*, but *x-ḫa-an-ta-za*, and cannot be translated as "from a heated(?) river." KUB 17.8 iv 14 is also mistranslated, since the *-ši* does not refer back to a person but to an object, and *iyawaniškizzi* does not mean "is recovering." Neither is *lappina-* to be translated "tinder, dry vegetation, underbrush." Nothing in the word's occurrences supports such translations. I am totally at a loss to know what "overflowing with underbrush" might mean, even if it were a possible translation of *lappinit aršanteš*.

lappa-: The traditional translation “tongs” followed also in this case by the *CHD* is vastly to be preferred to “scoop, shovel.” Only a preconceived etymology leads Puhvel to prefer his translation. The “remains” (Puhvel) that are transferred with the *lappa-* are simply bones (*ḫaštai*). A scoop might be used for ashes, but *ḫaštai* means “bones,” while *ḫaš* means “ashes.”

lapana-: Watkins showed in *Fs Puhvel* that Luwian *lapana-* is based on the verb *lap-* “to lick” and that it refers to a salt lick. This obviously eliminated the older translation “summer pasture” used in the *CHD* and elsewhere. But it takes time for this discovery to filter through all the literature. It is not just “Hout, *Ulmitešub*” who still has the older translation. See Hawkins 2000: 515f.

laplappa-: The *la-ap-la-pí* KUB 24.12 ii 21 that is booked here as nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut. is probably a collective, since the other forms of the word are all animate. The word (KUŠ)*lapla-* does not denote a body part. For that the determinative would be UZU, not KUŠ. With KUŠ as a determinative we are dealing with an object made of leather or hide. The only passage that would clearly point to a body part is KBo 17.17 i 8, which must be read (with the *CHD*) as *la-ap-li-<pí>ta-a[t-ká]n da-a-ú* “let him take it with (his) eyelash(es).” This eliminates the need for all the speculation about the relationship between an alleged *lapla-* “eyelid” and *laplipa-* “eyelash.” I see no reason to assume that there was a “labial suffix having a ‘diminutival’ function” in *kalulupa-* “finger, toe, digit,” or *dampupi-* “uncivilized person.” And I do not understand how Puhvel connects English “ruffian” (< Italian *ruffiano* “pimp” < Latin *rufus* “red”) to English “rough” as a supposed basis for connecting *dampu-* “blunt” (Puhvel “rough”) to *dampupi-*.

lapruwa-: The proposed meaning “soft parts, flank(?)” is a guess, but is supported by no concrete textual evidence. It is a body part of a he-goat; that’s all.

latti-: Most of the examples cited are of the logogram *ŠU-TUM-TI* and are translated already in the *CHD* with the same translations used here. They contribute nothing to establishing either the etymology or the morphology of the word *latti-*.

lawatt-: The proposed meaning “mire, slush, muddiness” is only a guess and can claim no support from the occurrences. Nothing in them might contradict it, but neither would there be contradicted a hundred other possibilities. I can see no emendations of the passage KBo 20.21 rev. 1 in the *CHD* transcription. The hand copy clearly reads: *-]meš-ḫi la-a-wa-at-a-aš me-x[-*, with the trace after *me-* being the left side of a horizontal wedge, consonant with a reading *me-ḫ[u-*.

lazz(a)i-: The passage cited as “950/c” is now published as KBo 37.23. Five out of the seven food plant names in the list there are wrongly translated here. *ḫaššik* is not “fig,” *al-layaniš* is not “olive,” *ḫappuriyaš* is not “greenery,” but some specific fruit or vegetable here; GÚ.TUR is “lentil,” not “pea,” and GÚ.GAL is “chick pea,” not “bean.” If *lazzai-* is indeed the syllabic reading of GI.DÙG.GA, which is very uncertain, we would still not be sure that it was specifically “sweet flag, calamus.”

lazzai-: *lazzai-* is correctly translated “good, right,” but not “straight, prime, sound.” Puhvel here simply empties his thesaurus without considering that not all of these related but not identical terms can be fairly documented as meanings of *lazzai-*. Similarly in his reprise on p. 73 he somewhat inaccurately attributes to *marša-* the meaning “twisted,” which has no support in any known text. He may realize that he is just extrapolating, but not all his readers will be aware of that. They should not be misled in this way.

lenk-: It is true that the *CHD* incorrectly read *li-in-g[a-i]š-ma* in KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.41 rev. 50 as a neuter *li-in-g[a-]e-ma*. But as Puhvel himself must admit (p. 93) the existence of *linkiyant-* as an “animation” (“ergative”) when *lingai-* is to be the subject of a transitive verb seems to require that we posit a neuter **lingai* “oath” for Hittite. (All examples of nom. *lingaiš* have intransitive verbs.) In the only passage that contains *linkiya anda* (p. 94) it is unclear whether it refers to the subject of the clause, which is the man swearing, or to the solemn testimony which he brings (*-za anda peda-*).

lim(m)a-: It is true that the *CHD* incorrectly labeled *li-im-ma-aš* in KUB 12.16 i 2 and dupl. Bo 3351 as genitive, whereas it seems to be nominative. This does prove that *limma-* was sometimes animate (common gender). But the form *:li-im-ma* is not (*pace* Puhvel) dative-locative, but neuter in agreement with *gulšan* and not in agreement with the animate subject *kāš memiyaš*. Either *limma-* was heterogeneric, having both neuter and common gender agreements, or the form *limma* is a collective, formally identical to a neuter. Furthermore, there is no evidence whatever to suggest that *limma-* was specifically a type of ale (*pace* Puhvel). It was a beverage, probably alcoholic, but we have no idea what type. Puhvel has missed one word derived from *limma-*, namely [*l*] *immuiwant-* KUB 33.62 iii 12–13 (cf. *naduwant-* “having reeds” < *nata-* “reed”). See Hoffner 1994 and *CHD* S/1 sub *šaknuwant-*.

lip(ai)-: Curiously, Puhvel has cited the same passage twice on the same page (p. 102) with different and incompatible readings: KUB 55.35 obv. 7. The correct reading is *li-ip-š[a-an- . . .]*, not *li-ip-p[a-an-zi]*. The word read *GĪR-aš* can just as easily be read ANŠE-*aš*, and in any event in its context denotes a model of either an animal with hooves or a model of an animal foot. His “foot a bit abraded at the hoof” fails to communicate that important fact.

lulim(m)i-: The meanings proposed for this word and for *lulu-* in the next lemma are Puhvel’s guesses, based apparently on no solid textual evidence. Once again he has proposed as though it were certain only one of quite a few renderings which would not contradict the evidence, but which cannot claim exclusive validity. The precise meaning of *lulimmi-* is still unclear to me. But *lulu-* is something general like “happiness,” or “well-being.”

lulluri-: Aside from its being a mineral, the only evidence for a more precise identification comes from the glass-making texts published by Riemschneider. Why Puhvel thinks that it must be “hematite” (his rendering of NA₄ KA.GI.NA, Akkadian *šadānu*, which is not translated by Assyriologists as “hematite”) is unclear to me. Neither KA.GI.NA nor *šadānu* are used in glass-making texts from Mesopotamia. On p. 118 Puhvel concedes that Akkadian *lulû* might be the basis for the word *lulluri-*, but he fails to mention that Akkadian *lulû* is indeed used in glass-making texts. And the *CAD* translates this word as “antimony.”

lutta(i)-: The claim that this word is neuter in the sg. and common gender in the plural is nonsense. Nothing in the context of the so-called neuter form ^{GIŠ}*luttai* requires it to be singular. In all probability *luttai* is a collective plural, while *luttauš* is the non-collective (“count”) plural in the accusative case. If Puhvel thinks that “consonant with technology, *luttai* was in the nature of a (shuttered) venthole of wood and (rarely) bronze,” then it is inconceivable that ^{GIŠ}AB.MEŠ-*uš aranteš* in broken context should mean “raised(?) windows.” Hittite windows had no sashes and were not raised or lowered. Nor do I understand how the “repeated mention” (only two times!) of an upper window (*šarazzi-*) “suggests a venthole for smoke.” Both of the passages mentioning an “upper” window say that a person stands beside it, which means that it cannot be in the roof or high up on the wall, but on the

level that a person stands. That location does not favor its function as a “venthole” for smoke, which would rise straight up.

luzzi-: Several new occurrences from the Maṣat letters, which were available to Puhvel several years before this volume went to press, have been overlooked: HKM 52:13, 35, 39 have *lu-uz-zi* nom.-acc. The loc. *lu-uz-zi-ia* is found in HKM 52:36–37. And a plural locative seems to be found in KBo 6.28 rev. 30–31 *ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni[-ia-a]š lu-uz-zi-ia-aš*.

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